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FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ:

HIS TIMES, LIFE, AND WORKS

By

HĀDĪ HASAN

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FARĪBURZ I (d. after 487 A.H.)

MINŪCHIHR I (498 A.H.) FARĪDŪN I (d. 514 A.H.)

MINŪCHIHR II (514-44 A.H.)

Princess 'Ismatū'd-Din + AKHHSATĀN I SHĀHINSHĀH ? Dhukhratu'd-Dīn Farīdūn FARRUKHZĀD I
(514-c. 593 A.H. or later) (c. 593-98 A.H.?) (600 A.H.)

Fariburz Ijik Minūchihir

FARĪBURZ II GARSHĀSP

FARĪBURZ III
(c. 620-45 A.H.)

AKHHSATĀN II Gushāsp Farrukhzād II
(653 A.H.) etc.

THE KINGDOM OF SHIRWĀN

THE Shirwānshāhs of the sixth century A.H. ruled over the province of Shirwān, that is, the two districts of Shirwān proper and Gushtāsfi. The limits of this principality were the River Samūr or Nahru'l-Malik on the north, the Caspian Sea on the east, the River Kur or Cyrus on the south, and the Christian kingdom of Georgia on the west. Derbend, though temporarily subdued by Georgian aid between 565 and 570 A.H., was a state by itself: in 514 A.H., according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, Farīdūn I, king of Shirwān, lost his life in a struggle with the ruler of Derbend ¹; in 517 A.H., according to *Ibnu'l-Athīr*, the people of Derbend, being harassed by the Georgians, solicited the intervention of Sultān Mahmūd ²; in 553 A.H., or between 566 and 575 A.H., the poet Khāqānī addressed an ode to Sayfu'd-Dīn, ruler of Derbend ³; and in a prison-poem, written with the object of regaining the confidence of Akhsatān, Khāqānī says ⁴:

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 364, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Kāmilu'l-Tawārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 434; *sub anno* 517 A.H.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, p. 344, Lucknow ed., 1295 A.H.:

مانا که هست گردون دروازه بان دربند اجریست آن دو ناش ز انعام شاه کشور
درگاه سیف دین را نقدست خوان رضوان ادريس ریزه خوارش و ارواح میده آور

The Lucknow ed. gives seven *bands* of this ode, pp. 343-54; but the ode addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn belongs only to *bands* 1, 2, 3, and 5.

The date of composition of the ode is given by the reference to the pilgrimage (p. 346):

پارم عَلَى دیدی آسوده دل چو کعبه رطب اللسان چو زمز بر کعبه افرین گر

Khāqānī performed the pilgrimage twice—in 551 A.H. (Lucknow ed., p. 514) and again in the reign of al-Muṣṭadī (566-75 A.H.), Lucknow ed., pp. 86 and 90:

من بدور مقتضی دیدم بَدَی مه بادیه کاندرو زاب و گیا قحط فراوان دیده اند
یس بعهید مستضی امسال دیدم در تموز کنز تیم گاه صد نیلوفرستان دیده اند

چون ز راه کعبه خاقانی به یزرب داد روی یش صدر مصطفی ثانی حسان دیده اند

Khānikow considers that Khāqānī performed a pilgrimage in 521 A.H., but the evidence adduced contains important variants and has been wrongly interpreted. It is obvious that if Khāqānī's Sayfu'd-Dīn is identical with the Amir of Derbend, Sayfu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khalifatu's-Sulāmī, whom Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalūsī met between 525 and 528 A.H. (*Tuhfatu'l-Albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, p. 85, 1925), the earlier date, i.e. 553 A.H., is preferable.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 256.

ز بندِ شاه ندارم گله معاذ الله
ا گرچه آبِ مه من برد در مو آب
بکار روم سویِ عراق یا آلان
بکار گریزم سویِ اخاز یا بباب الباب

God forbid, I do not complain of the fetters of the king, although he dishonoured me in the month of *Ab*.

Whither can I flee ? To 'Irāq or the Alāns ? Whither can I go ?
To Georgia or Derbend ?

The geographical position of Shirwān determines the relations of the Shirwānshāhs—with the Khazars and Derbend Amīrs on the north, the Georgian kings on the west, the Seljūq Sultāns and their Atābeks on the south, and the Russian sea-raiders or Brodniki on the east. The campaigns of the Shirwānshāhs were generally defensive, and conducted, when possible, by means of external aid : the Seljūqs intervene when the Georgians under David II become aggressive, and the Georgians come to the rescue when the land is ravaged by the Brodniki. The weakness of the Shirwān government, indeed, is self-acknowledged : the Shirwān coinage bears in addition to the name of the Shirwānshāh the name of the Caliph and also of the Seljūq Sultān. The Caliph's connection with Shirwān was nominal, but not so the Seljūq Sultān's. Malikshāh (465-85 A.H.) imposed an annual levy on Shirwān ; Sultān Mahmūd in 517 A.H. imprisoned the Shirwānshāh ; and in 622 A.H. Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh reinforced with remissions the levy of Malikshāh. It was only during the later years of the reign of Minūchihr II that Shirwān became temporarily aggressive and this period, c. 530-44 A.H., represents, consequently, the height of Shirwān's prosperity.

It is interesting to note that شروان, though usually pronounced Shirwān, was also pronounced Sharwān. Says Khāqāni¹ :

عیبر شروان مکن که خاقانی هست از آن شهر کابتداش شر است
عیبر شهری چرا کنی بد و حرف کاول شرع و آخر بشر است

Speak not disparagingly of Sharwān, for Khāqāni hails from the city which begins with Shar (mischief).

Why criticize a city because of (its) two letters, for it represents the commencement of Shar' (Religious Law) and the termination of Bashar (mankind) ?

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqāni*, Lucknow ed., p. 236.

Similarly, the following couplet of Falakī :

شُورَة شَرْوَانَ كَهْ جَائِي شُورَ و شَرْ دِيَوْ بُودَ ازْبَرِي روَيَانِ تُرْكَ و تُرْكَمَانَ آرَاسْتَهَ

The land of Sharwān, which was the den of the devils' intrigue and uproar, he has adorned with fairy-faced Turkish and Turkomān maidens.

with its three redundant homonymies— شُورَة شَرْوَانَ ; شُورَ شُورَهَ — requires the alternative pronunciation Sharwān.

THE SHIRWĀNSHĀHS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY A.H.

The history of the Shāhs of Shirwān, as here discussed, will embrace only the sixth century of the *Hijra*, i.e. roughly the period of the poet Khāqānī, but for the sake of unity it is necessary to begin a little earlier with Farīburz I.

FARĪBURZ I

Of Farīburz I, grandfather of Falaki's patron, Minūchihir II,¹ two sets of coins have recently been discovered.²

A

Obv.

Rev.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الْمُقْتَدِيُّ بِأَمْرِ اللَّهِ
السُّلْطَانُ مَلِكُ
شَاهُ

B

Obv.

Rev.

لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ مُحَمَّدٌ
رَسُولُ اللَّهِ
الْمُسْتَظْهَنُ
فَرِيزُ
بِاللَّهِ

¹ The dynasty, designated Kestrānid (see *Jahān Arā*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 161a, where Minūchihir II is called Minūchihir b. Kestrān), was probably founded by Muhammād b. Yazid who seized Shirwān and Derbend about 332 A.H. (*Murūju'dh-Dhahab*, ii, 44.)

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursii po istorii shirwanshakhov*, pp. 28-9, Baku (1923).

As the caliph al-Muqtadī ruled 467-87 A.H., and as Sultān Malikshāh ruled 465-85 A.H., the coins of set A must have been minted between 467 and 485 A.H. Further, as the caliph al-Mustazhir ruled 487-512 A.H. and as Minūchihr I b. Fariburz I was the Shirwānshāh in 498 A.H., it is obvious that Fariburz I must have died between 487 and 498 A.H.

Proceeding now to the literary evidence, "when Malikshāh crossed over to Arrān," says al-Bundārī, "there came before him the king Fariburz, ruler of Shirwān, who had previously offered resistance; and Fariburz covenanted to pay 70,000 *dīnārs* (annually) to the royal treasury. But from time to time remissions were allowed in that sum till it stood at 40,000 *dīnārs*."¹ A reference to the levy imposed by Malikshāh upon Fariburz I is contained in Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasawī's *Širāzī's-Sultān Jalālī's-Dīn Mankubirtī*, where it is stated that in the year 622 A.H. Sultān Jalālī's-Dīn Khwārazmshāh demanded from the then reigning Shirwānshāh a tribute equivalent to "the sum previously fixed to be paid into the treasury of Malikshāh."² In the *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī* the name of Fariburz is vaguely mentioned in several places: in the following ode, however, addressed to the sister of Minūchihr II (i.e. the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II b. Faridūn I) Khāqānī states definitely that "her grandfather, the king Fariburz, had visited Malikshāh at Isfahān":³

هر گر کس از کیان روِ کعبه نرفته بود	تو رفته راهِ کعبه و فخرِ کیان شده
آن آرزو که جانِ منوجهر داشته	تو یافته بصدق و منوچهر جان شده
این طرفه یین که دست برادر فشاند تخم	همشیره بر گرفت بَر و شادمان شده

¹ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irāq*, Leyden (1889), Ar. text, p. 140: وكان هذا القرار على شروان من عهد السلطان ملکشاه بن الـ ارسلان فـانه لما عـبر على آزان وصل الى خدمـته الملك فـريـز صـاحـب شـروـان بعد اـمـتـاعـه والـترـم بـحـلـ سـبعـين الفـ دـينـارـ الى الحـزاـنـةـ وـماـ زـالـتـ المـسـاحـاتـ تـدـخـلـ فـالـقـرـارـ الىـ اـنـ وـقـفـ عـلـىـ اـرـبـعـينـ الفـ دـينـارـ

² O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal Ed-Din Mankobirti*, Paris (1891), Ar. text, p. 175: فـلـماـ مـلـكـ السـلـطـانـ اـرـانـ سـنـةـ اـنـتـبـنـ وـعـشـرـ وـسـتـيـاـةـ رـاـسـلـ شـروـانـشـاهـ اـفـرـيدـوـنـ بـنـ فـرـيـزـ مـطـالـبـاـ بـالـأـوـاـةـ الـقـرـدـةـ لـخـانـةـ مـلـكـهـ

Malikshāh is described as having imposed on the Shirwānshāh (i.e. Fariburz I) an annual tribute of 100,000 *dīnārs*.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 199b; and India Office MS. No. 589, f. 181a-b. The text of the Lucknow ed., pp. 573-74, is corrupt (see *infra*, p. 6, n. 3). The ode which belongs to the "Fragments" is wanting in most MSS.

برواز کرده جانز منوجهر سوی تو
 پیش آمده روان فریدون گهرفتان
 جدّ تو نیز شاه فریز رفته هم
 دیده ترا بکعبه و خرم روان شده
 تا زان گهر زمین علم کاویان شده
 دیده در ملکشہ و در اصفهان شده

None of the Kayānians ever went to the Ka'ba ; you went to the Ka'ba and became the pride of the Kayānians.¹

You have truly realized the longing which the life of Minūchihir entertained ; and (so) you have become life's heavenly countenance.

Behold this wonder : the brother sowed the seed and the sister gathered in the fruit with joy.

The soul of Minūchihir flew towards you, saw you in the Ka'ba and became happy.

Towards you came the soul of Farīdūn scattering jewels : because of these jewels the land has become the standard of Kāwah.²

Your grandfather, the king Fariburz, had also set out on a journey, had entered the hall of Malikshāh, and had visited Isfahān.³

Now as the sister of Minūchihir II was the grand-daughter of Fariburz I, the contemporary of Malikshāh, Minūchihir II himself must have been the grandson of this Fariburz I. On the other hand, we know from coins

¹ According to Falaki (*Dīwān*, couplet 934), the Shirwānshāhs were descended from Ārash (b. Kay Kubād) and Bahrām ; according to al-Baydāwī (*Nizāmu'l-Tawārīkh*, 674 A.H., Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1859, f. 37b), the Shirwānshāhs were descended from Bahrām Chūbīn. Al-Baydāwī is followed in 892 A.H. by Dawlatshāh (Browne's ed., p. 71), in 1002 A.H. by Amin Āhmad-i-Rāzī (*Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 390b), and in 1193 A.H. by Lutf 'Ali (*Ātashkādah*, Indis Office MS. No. 2929, f. 28a).

In Āhmad b. Muhammad al-Ghaffāri's *Jahān Ārā* of 971 A.H. (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 151a), in Ḥasan b. Muhammad al-Khāki's *Aheanu'l-Tawārīkh* of 1019 A.H. (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a), and in Mirza Muhammad's *Jannātu'l-Firdaws* of 1126 A.H., the Shirwānshāhs are regarded as the descendants of Nūshirwān.

² The Sāsānian banner, named the "*dirāfsh-i-Kāwīān*" after the flag of the blacksmith Kāwah who overthrew the usurper Dahhāk, was so richly garnished with gems that it was valued, when captured at Qādisiyah, at a hundred thousand or even a million pieces. Tabari, *Annals*, ed. de Goeje, i, p. 2337.

³ The text of the Lucknow ed. :

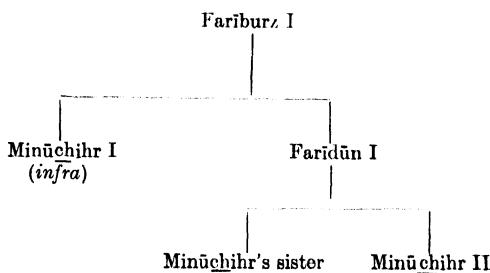
سالار شام پیش تو سالار خوان شده جدّ تو نیز شاه فریز رفته هم

is a corruption of the following :

دیده در ملکشہ و در اصفهان شده جدّ تو نیز شاه فریز رفته هم

نوکرده آن سفر که صاندار جنت است سالار شام پیش تو سالار خوان شده

and the testimony of Khāqānī and Falakī that Minūchihr II was the son of Farīdūn I. Consequently, Farīburz I was the father of Farīdūn I—the genealogical tree being as follows :



MINŪCHIHR I

Farīburz I left two sons, Minūchihr I and Farīdūn I, both of whom came in turn to the throne. Of Minūchihr I the only record extant is a coin recently acquired by the Ermitage Museum.

Minūchihr ibn Farīburz

Obv.

Rev.

[محمد] رسول [الله]

الملك

[المسن] ظهر بالله

منوجهر

[سلطان] محمد

بن فریز

The caliph al-Mustazhir ruled from 487 to 512 A.H., and Sultān Muhammad b. Malikshāh, the Seljūq from 498 to 511 A.H.; therefore, in 498 A.H. Minūchihr I was the Shāh of Shirwān. Further, as Farīdūn I was killed in 514 A.H.¹ it is obvious that some time between 498 A.H. and 514 A.H. the reign of Minūchihr I terminated and of Farīdūn I began.

FARĪDŪN I

Of Farīdūn I no coins are known, but, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, “in 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H. the rulers of Shirwān and Derbend having come to blows, Afrīdūn was killed and the people of Shirwān

¹ *Infra.*

cut to pieces”¹—a statement corroborated by Khāqānī who calls Farīdūn “a martyr”.² The claim to distinction of Farīdūn, however, rests not on his martyrdom, but on the fact that he was the father of Minūchihīr II, the patron of the poets Abū'l-'Alā, Khāqānī, and Falakī.

“In the year 1116 A.D. = 510 A.H.” says the *Georgian Chronicle*, “David II, surnamed the Restorer, king of Georgia, sent his daughter Cata to Greece to marry the son of the Emperor. Previously, he had sent his elder daughter, Thamar, in order to reign over Shirwān.³ It will be shown hereafter that Thamar was the wife of Minūchihīr II, and that the marriage took place between 504 and 510 A.H. The alliance, however, with the Christian state of Georgia, instead of benefiting the Muslim house of Shirwān, served only as an incentive to Georgian aggression. In 1117 A.D. = 511 A.H. David II sent his son Dimitri with a strong army to overrun Shirwān. “Dimitri took the citadel of Kaladzor where he got a quantity of spoils and many prisoners, and put to flight the people of Sukmān, commander of all the forces of Persia.”⁴ The mention of Sukmān by the *Chronicle* shows that Farīdūn I must have applied to Armenia for help, for Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Sukmān (reigned afterwards as Sukmān II from 522 to 579 A.H.) was the son of Zahīru'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh-Arman, ruler of Armenia from 506 to 521 A.H. To proceed, however, with the *Chronicle*. After his exploits Dimitri returned to his father in triumph; the next two years went peacefully by; and then, in 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H., David II himself undertook a campaign against Shirwān. In February he contented himself with seizing the town of Qabalāh in Derbend,⁵ but in May “overran Shirwān from Arabia-Lidjatha till Shishtlantha and Kurdewān and returned to Karthli laden with spoils”.⁶ The Georgian raid, by weakening Shirwān, incited the

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Kulliyat-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 238, Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 132b; Add. 25,018, f. 130b, etc., in an ode addressed to Queen 'Ismatu'd-Dīn Safwatū'l-Islām, wife of Akhsatān I:

گوهر کانِ فریدون شہید
ر فرازِ تاج دارا دیده ام

See also *infra*, pp. 33-34.

³ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 360, St. Petersburg (1849).

⁴ *Idem*, p. 360 and p. 381.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364. The *Chronicle* says “Qabalāh in Shirwān”, but Qabalāh was a well-known fortress in the mountains near Derbend, where, for example, Muqaddasi found a mosque on a hill. See Muqaddasi, ed. de Goeje, p. 376.

⁶ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364; the *Armenian Chronicle*: “From Lejik up to Kurdewān and Khahtalān.” Wakhoucht has Shimshata for Shishtlantha. “I do not know these two places,” writes M. Brosset, n. 6, p. 364. “but the first one, i.e. Lidjatha, has some similarity to Laich in Shirwān, where the Tatars used to come to buy copper from the mines of Alawerd or more often from Lalwar in Georgia.”

cupidity of Derbend : war followed, and in the engagement which took place in November, 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H., Faridūn I was killed and his army cut to pieces.

MINŪCHIHR II

Coins of Minūchihr II were unknown at the time of the publication of Markow's *Catalogue*. These coins, recently discovered, and now in the possession of the Ermitage Museum, are of silver, small value, and defective : on the reverse is the title " al-Malik Minūchihr b. Afridūn " ; on the obverse, the name of the caliph al-Muqtāfi (reigned 530-55 A.H.) with the name of the Seljūq Sultān obliterated, unfortunately, on all specimens.

Minūchihr ibn Afridūn

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الملك
محمد رسول الله	منوچهر بن ا
المقتفي بالله	فریدون

Including his titles the full name of Minūchihr II was *Abū'l-Hayjā Fakhrū'd-Dīn Malik Minūchihr b. Faridūn, Shirwānshāh, Khāqān-i-Buzurg, Kabīr or Akbar*. This is borne out by references in the works of *Abū'l-'Alā*¹ :

بعزتی که مرا با خدا یگان بود است
شده است زنده و فرخنده خاندان ز تا
سر ملوك منوچهر شاه کزو

Khāqānī² :

خسر و سلطان نشان خاقان اکبر کز جلال
روزگارش عبده الاصغر نویسد بن ملا
نام او چون اسم اعظم تاج اسا دان ازانک

جلال ملت و تاج ملوك فخر الدین
سپهی مهر منوچهر مشتری اخلاق

¹ *Infra*, p. 95.

² *Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 63 and p. 541.

and Falaki¹ :

فخرِ دین خاقانِ اکبر کَسَان چون ییدش
گوید آن جاه و جلال و امر و فرمانش نگر
خسرو ایران منوچهر آنکه در شانش خرد
گفت سبحان الله آن رایِ جهان باش نگر
هست خاقانِ بزرگ او را لقب لیکن بقدر
بندگانِ بیشتر از فغفور و خاقانش نگر

.....

خاقانِ بزرگ شاهِ شروان
کر دولت او امیدوارم
کز خدمت اوست افتخارم
بوالهیجا فخرِ دین منوچهر

.....

جوی تو باری ز چه غم میخوری
شاعرِ شروان شه نیک اختری
شاهِ معظم ملکِ گوهری
کهتری او سببِ مهتری

ای فلکی زان دو لبش بوسه
کو نکند بر توجفا زانکه تو
مفخرِ شابانِ جهان فخرِ دین
شاهِ منوچهر فریدون که هست

Amongst the titles of Minūchihir II, “Shirwānshāh” and “Khāqān-i-Buzurg, Kabīr or Akbar” have no identification-value, because they were borne also by Akhsatān I. But the titles “Abū'l-Hayjā” and “Fakhrū'd-Dīn” belong exclusively to Minūchihir II, just as “Abū'l-Muzaffar” and “Jalālu'd-Dīn” belong to Akhsatān I. The tadhkīrah-writers, having failed to distinguish the identity of father and son, give the title of Jalālu'd-Dīn to Minūchihir II—an error repeated both by Khānikow² and Pakhomow.³

The Duration of Minūchihir's Reign

The evidence regarding the commencement and termination of the reigns of the two Shirwānshāhs—Minūchihir II b. Faridūn I and Akhsatān I b. Minūchihir II b. Faridūn I—is presented in the following table:—

¹ *Diwān-i-Falaki*, couplets 203–05, 448–49, 784–67.

² *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

³ E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov*, p. 34, Baku (1923).

Literary Evidence.	Shirwānshāh.	Numismatic Evidence.	
		'Abbāsid Caliph.	Seljūq Sultān.
Died in 514 A.H. (<i>Georgian Chronicle</i>)	Faridūn I.	No coins.	No coins.
Ruled thirty years (<i>Khāqānī</i>).	Minūchihir II b. Faridūn I.	al-Muqtāfi (530-55 A.H.).	Name obliterated on all specimens.
	Akhsatān I b. Minūchihir II.	al-Mustanjid (555-66 A.H.).	A(r)slā(n) Shāh (556-73 A.H.).
	“ “	al-Mustādi (566-75 A.H.).	Tughrīl (III b. Arslān Shāh) (573-90 A.H.).
	“ “	al-Nāṣir (575-622 A.H.).	Tughrīl (III b. Arslān Shāh) (573-90 A.H.).
Was reigning in 584 A.H. when Nizāmī's <i>Laylā wa Majnūn</i> was dedicated to him.	“ “	al-Nāṣir (575-622 A.H.).	Nil.

The numismatic evidence is indefinite: coins of Faridūn I, and coins of Minūchihir II and Akhsatān I minted during the reign of the same 'Abbāsid caliph are wanting. On the other hand, in his elegy on the death of Minūchihir II, *Khāqānī* says (as was first pointed out by *Khānikow*) that Minūchihir II reigned thirty years¹:

گر خون کنید خاک باشک روان رواست کین خاک خوا بگاو منوچهر پاد شاست

.....

شاها سریر و تاج کیان چون گذاشتی سی ساله میلک و ملک جهان چون گذاشتی

If thou shouldst make the earth blood with thy flowing tears, it is (but) proper, for this earth is the sleeping-place of King Minūchihir.

O king, why didst thou leave the throne and the crown of the Kayānians? Why didst thou leave (thy) thirty years' dominion and kingdom of the world?

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 548-49; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 35a; Add. 25,808, f. 215b; Add. 16,773, f. 209b; Add. 7726, f. 224a; and India Office MSS. No. 1767, f. 305a; No. 1264, f. 213a; No. 589, f. 253a. The only variants of سی سال are سی سال

As Minūchihir II was the son of Faridūn I, and as Faridūn I, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, died in 514 A.H.¹ and, finally, as Minūchihir II was not a minor at the time of his father's death² (for the marriage of Minūchihir II to the Georgian princess, Thamar, took place between 504 and 510 A.H.),³ the obvious conclusion is that the reign of Minūchihir II lasted from 514 to c. 544 A.H.⁴ Consequently, the reign of Akhsatān I began in or about 544 A.H.—the figure, thirty years, given by Khāqāni being, of course, approximate. It is obvious, therefore, that the *prima facie* evidence of the coins is deceptive, and that three sets of coins—(i) those of Faridūn I, (ii) those of Minūchihir II minted between 514 and 530 A.H., and (iii) those of Akhsatān I minted between 544 and 556 A.H.—still remain to be discovered.

The Marriage of Minūchihir II

“In the year 1116 A.D. = 510 A.H.,” says the *Georgian Chronicle*, “David II sent his daughter, Cata, to Greece to marry the son of the Emperor. Previously he had sent his elder daughter, Thamar, in order to reign over Shirwān.⁵ Elsewhere, the *Chronicle* adds: “Aghsarthān treated Giorgi III like his son, because he (Aghsarthān) was the son of Thamar, the paternal aunt of Giorgi, who was married in this country (i.e. Shirwān) by the great King David . . . Aghsarthān, the Shirwānshāh, was the cousin-germain paternal of Giorgi.”⁶ Therefore, although the name of Thamar's bridegroom is not explicitly mentioned, it is obvious that Thamar was married to Minūchihir II, for Akhsatān, who was the son of Thamar, was also, as proved by numismatic and literary evidence, the son of Minūchihir II. Further, the marriage which did not take place

¹ *Supra*, p. 8.

² It is necessary to emphasize this fact, because in an ode, addressed, apparently, to a king, but whose identity is not disclosed, Falaki says (couplets 688–89):

ای از پدر یتیم فرو مانده و بتو کام جهان و نام نیا کان بر آمده
دیدی که در مالک ایران چه کام راند کبخسرو یتیم بتوران بر آمده

³ *Infra*.

⁴ In a *qasīdah*, addressed by Abū'l-'Alā to Minūchihir II, Sanā'i is spoken of as dead, and as, according to Rieu, Ethé, Prof. Browne, and Mirza Muhammad Khān, the date of Sanā'i's death is 545 A.H., Minūchihir II would still be reigning in 546 A.H. It is certain, however, for reasons mentioned in the Appendix, that the ordinarily accepted date of Sanā'i's death is untenable.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 360, St. Petersburg (1849).

⁶ *Idem*, p. 397.

later than 510 A.H., did also not take place earlier than 504 A.H. For if David, who, according to all sources, was born in 1073 A.D.,¹ got married at the age of twenty, and became the father of Thamar in the first year of his marriage, and gave away his daughter in marriage in the sixteenth year of her life, then the date of Thamar's marriage would be 1073 A.D. + 20 + 1 + 16 = 1110 A.D. = 504 A.H.

The date of Thamar's marriage between 504 and 510 A.H. but not earlier or later, is a rough guide to the dates of birth of Minūchihr II and Akhsatān I. For Minūchihr II must be presumed to have been at least twenty years of age at the time of his marriage, and was, therefore, born c. 484-90 A.H. Further, as Akhsatān, the son of Thamar, could not have been born before 504 A.H., and perhaps not before 510 A.H., a liberal interpretation should be put, as suggested by Pakhomow,² on the following verse of Khāqānī³:

بانصد هجرت از جهان هیچ ملک چو تو نزاد
از خلفان سلطنت تا خلفای راستین

Five hundred years of the *Hijra* have not produced a king like thee—
from amongst crown princes to the (Four) Orthodox Caliphs.

utilized by Khānikow as indicating that Akhsatān was born in 500 A.H.

We have thus arrived at the following dates: birth of Minūchihr II, between 484 and 490 A.H.; marriage of Minūchihr II with Thamar, between 504 and 510 A.H., and nearer 510 than 504 A.H.; birth of Akhsatān, after 504 A.H., and probably after 510 A.H.

It is curious that neither Falakī whose odes are addressed almost exclusively to Minūchihr II, nor Khāqānī, who has five panegyrics and a long threnody on Minūchihr II,⁴ should mention Thamar anywhere in their poems. Only in one place, in an ode addressed to Akhsatān I, have I found Khāqānī alluding to the Christian parentage of his patron⁵:

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 10, n. 4.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov*, p. 31, Baku (1923).

³ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 176-77; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 189b; Add. 25,018, f. 138a; Add. 7726, f. 190a; and India Office MSS. No. 589, f. 238b; No. 1264, f. 203b, etc.

⁴ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 62-66; 407-12; 478-80; 541-44; 743-44; and 544-52.

⁵ *Idem*, Lucknow ed., p. 177; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 190a; Add. 16,773, f. 184b; and India Office MS. No. 1264, f. 203b. The other MSS. have عیسوی نسخه, probably an amendment of the scribes to whom عیسوی نسب appeared meaningless.

از شهی عیسوی نسب عازر ملک زنده شد
معجزه را همین قدر هست گوایی راستین

Through the king of Christian descent the Lazarus of the kingdom has revived ; this evidence is enough to attest his miraculous powers.

Reverting, therefore, to the *Georgian Chronicle* for further information about Thamar, it is stated under the events of the year 1161 A.D. that "Giorgi III (1155-84 A.D.), after breaking up his camp at Ānī, presented himself with a shining countenance to her who had brought him up, namely his paternal aunt, the queen of queens, Thamar, who bathed him with tears mixed with smiles."¹ Accordingly, Thamar was still alive in 1161 A.D. = 556 A.H., and as *Minūchihr* II died about 544 A.H., she must have remained a widow for at least twelve years.

It was probably in her widowhood that Thamar became a nun and founded the monastery of Thighwa. The brief information of the *Georgian Chronicle*² :

"Thamar, sister of King Dimitri I (1125-54 A.D.), foundress of the monastery of Thighwa, died also as a nun."

is amplified by the Tsarevitch Wakhoucht in 1745 A.D.³ :

"At Tighwa (Thighwa), to the east of Métekh and to the west of the Phtza, is the monastery of the Cross, built by Thamar, daughter of David the Restorer ; it is with a cupola, and is immense and of elegant architecture, and is surrounded by a large number of buildings and at present administered by a priest."

and corroborated by the epigraphic evidence of M. Dimitri in 1849 A.D.⁴ :

"At the village of Thighwa there is a large monastery built of cut stones and placed, according to the reports of the inhabitants, under the invocation of the Virgin. It is surrounded by a ruined wall ; in the courtyard are traces of dwellings ; the wall is decorated with a cupola covered with bricks ; all the rest is in blocks of stones of which

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 391, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Idem*, p. 382.

³ Tsarevitch Wakhoucht, *Description Géographique de la Géorgie*, p. 265, St. Petersburg (1842). The MS. of Wakhoucht was written in Georgian in 1745 A.D. and additions made to the MS. in 1755 A.D. The Georgian text, with a French translation, was published by M. Brosset in 1842 A.D.

⁴ *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, cols. 172-73, vol. vi, 1849.

several are 3 or 4 archines in length. The same description applies to the interior of the wall. The length of the church is 34 archines ; and the width 21. Although the church is very ancient, people still pray there and mass is said there. On the north side, above a window, is an inscription of which I could only gather the last three lines on the right, which signify : 'Help thy servant Thamar.' Therefore, the inhabitants are wrong in saying that the place is under the invocation of the Virgin. . . .

"There is no other writing, and on the tombs which can be seen in the church, the inscriptions are illegible. Very probably one of these is that of the Princess Thamar."

The Sons of Minūchihr II

Whether Thamar, mother of Akhsatān, was the only wife of Minūchihr II is unknown. According to Falakī, Minūchihr II had five sons¹ :

خاقانِ دین منوچهر کر یاری سپهش در صدرِ مهر مسند مه پایگانه زید

فرزند پنج داری پنجاه باد وانگه از هر یکیت پانصد فرزند زاده بادا

The Khāqān of religion, Minūchihr, whom it befits, by the favour of the sphere, to have the sitting-carpet (spread) above the sun, and to have the moon for a foot-carpet.

Thou hast five sons ; may they be fifty, and from each one of these may five hundred (grand)sons be born to thee.

Four of these—Akhsatān, Shāhinshāh, Farīdūn, and Farrukhzhād—are known from numismaticic evidence :

I

Akhsatān ibn Minūchihr

Obv.

المستنجد

بالله السلطان

اسلا شاه (sic)

لا اله الا الله

Rev.

الملك

المعلم

احسنان بن

منوچهر

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 866 and 897.

II

Shāhīnshāh ibn Minūchihr

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
امير المؤمنين	شاهنشاه بن منو
	چهر شروانشاه
	(sic) SINI

III

Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Fariburz ibn Afridūn ibn Minūchihr

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الملك العادل
محمد رسول الله	جلال الدنيا والدين
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	فریز بن افريیدون
امیر المؤمنین	بن منوچهر شروانشاه

IV

Garshāsp ibn Farrukhāzād ibn Minūchihr

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
امیر المؤمنین	کرشاسپ بن فرخزاد بن منوچهر شروانشاه

In the archaic genealogy of the Širwānshāhs, given by the *Haft Iqlīm*¹ and *Jahān Ārā*² (a general history), Farrukhzhād is mentioned as the son and successor of Minūchihr II and called the father of Gushtāsp, probably the Garshāsp of the coins. Similarly, Prince Dhukhratu'd-Dīn Farīdūn, to whom Falakī has addressed a poem³:

بادا همه ساله ذخرة الدّين
آسوده ز فتنه زمانه
آن چون پدر از جهان یگانه
شهرزاده شردل فریدون

is no doubt identical with the Afridūn b. Minūchihir mentioned above as the father of the Shirwānshāh Jalālu'd-Dunya wa'd-Din Fariburz.

The Reign of Minūchihr II

The reign of Minūchihr II may be divided into two periods : an earlier period, beginning with the death of Faridūn I in 514 A.H., and terminating with the death of David the Restorer in 518 A.H., when Shirwān was overrun by the Georgians and the Seljūqs, and the Shirwānshāh, not specifically mentioned by name, temporarily imprisoned ; and a later period (518–44 A.H.), when Shirwān had recovered its semi-independence, or had even become hostile and aggressive. The authorities for the former period are the *Georgian* and *Armenian Chronicles*, supplemented by al-Bundārī and Ibnu'l-Athir ; the authorities for the latter period are the two poets of Shirwān, Khāqānī, and Falaki.

The Early Years of Minūchihr's Reign

"In the year 1123 A.D. = 517 A.H.," says the *Georgian Chronicle*, "Sultān Mahmūd⁴ entered Shirwān, seized the Shirwānshāh and the town of Shamākhī, and sent an insulting letter demanding tribute from

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 390b:

بعد از منوجهر ولدش فرخ زاد بر مستندر حکومت تکیه زد و چون او ناند گشتاپ مالک زمام احمد مملکت کرد و ملک گشتاپ بود منسیست.

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 151a :

گشتاسب که بلو گشتاسبی سالیان بدو منسوب است این فرخ زاد بن منجهر که ملقب ببد
بجخان و خاقانی شاعر بدو منسوب است

³ *Diwan-i-Falaki*, couplets 1078-79.

⁴ i.e. Sultān Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, Seljūq of 'Irāq, who ruled 511–25 A.H.

King David." David replied by entering Shirwān with 50,000 troops, and in an engagement "4,000 men, commanded by Aghsūnθūl, atābek of Rān," who was trying to join his forces with the Sultān's, were cut to pieces. Thereupon the Sultān fled in terror and David returned to Georgia.¹

The *Armenian Chronicle* gives an identical version, reducing the troops of "Askhandūl, atābek of Rhān" from 4,000 to 3,000.² This Aghsūnθūl, or Askhandūl, is no doubt a corruption of Āqsunqur, i.e. Āqsunqur-i-Āhmadili, ruler of Marāghah in 516 A.H. Subsequently, in 525 A.H., Āqsunqur-i-Āhmadili became regent to Malik Dā'ūd b. Sultān Mahmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, and was finally slain by the Ismā'ilis in Hamadān in 527 A.H.³

The Muslim version of the campaign of 517 A.H., as given by al-Bundārī, differs only in detail from the Christian *Chronicles*. Sultān Mahmūd, at the express invitation of the Shirwān leaders, marched against the country and imprisoned the popular Shirwānshāh, whereupon "the infidels who lived on the frontiers became greedy and with a force of 30,000 horse encamped at a distance of 2 *farsangs* from the Sultān's army. But God came to the help of Islām by crushing the marauders . . . Now when the Sultān saw the confusion of affairs he became incensed against the *wazīr* Shamsu'l-Mulk, son of Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and ordered him to be put to death. And this was towards the end of Rabi' I, 517 A.H., at the gate of Baylaqān."⁴

In contrast, however, to al-Bundārī and the Christian *Chronicles*, it appears from Ibnu'l-*Athīr* that Sultān Mahmūd, whose intervention had been sought by the people of Derbend against the inroads of the Georgians, found himself confronted at Shamākhī with a Georgian army, but a quarrel between the Georgians and their allies, the Qipchāqs, in consequence of which the enemy dispersed like fugitives, "released the Muslims from the obligation to fight." Shortly after, the Sultān left

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368, St. Petersburg (1851).

² *Idem*, *Chronique Arménienne or Additions*, p. 59.

³ Ibnu'l-*Athīr*, *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, pp. 421, 471, 483, *sub anno* 516 A.H., 525 A.H., and 527 A.H.

⁴ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irāq*, Ar. text, pp. 140-41 :

و طمع الكفار المتأخرُون فاغلروا و أبدوا الاعمال و نزلوا قبة السلطان في ثلثين الف عنان على فرسخين لكنَّ الله تدارك رمق الاسلام بكسر اولئك الافتلام ولما ابصر السلطان اختلال الاحوال سُجِّنَ على الوزير شمس الملك بن نظام الملك و قتله بالسيف صبرا و ذلك في آخر ربيع الاول سنة ٥١٧ يابَ يَلْقَانَ،

Shirwān for Hamadān, where he arrived in the month of Jumāda II (August, 1123 A.D.).¹

The disloyalty of the Qipchāqs, mentioned by Ibnu'l-Athīr, is attested by a passage in the *Georgian Chronicle*, where David II, in mobilizing his forces, "passes over the Qipchāqs in review."² The evidence, therefore, seems to favour the view that the defeat of Āqsunqur-i-Āhmādīlī on the one hand, and the defection of the Qipchāqs on the other, deterred the belligerents from coming to a fight, and the general result was a devastation of the country described by al-Bundārī as the "takhrīb" of Shirwān.³

After the campaign of 1123 A.D. = 517 A.H., the Seljūq Sultān disappears from the scene, but David II, who had pursued an aggressive policy towards Shirwān during the reign of Farīdūn I, and had since then improved his position by the capture of Tiflis,⁴ returned to Shirwān, "seized the palace-fortress of Gulistān, and imposed a tax on the district."⁵ This Gulistān, described by the *Chronicles* as "the royal residence of the Shirwānshāhs", must have been a place of importance, for I have found it mentioned by Khāqānī in an ode addressed to Akhṣatān I.⁶

The following year, in March and August, 1124 A.D. = 518 A.H., David II undertook his last campaigns against Shirwān: the first, directed against Shābarān,⁷ was, as usual, a raid; but the second, which led to the capture of Shamākhī and the surrounding district,⁸ was an attempt at annexation. "David II," say the Georgian and Armenian *Chronicles*, "left strong garrisons and soldiers of Héreth and of Cakheth in the towns

¹ Ibnu'l-Athīr, *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 434, *sub anno* 517 A.H. :

والتي [الله] بين الكرج و فنجاق اختلأها و عداوة فاقتتلوا تلك الليلة و رحلوا شب المهزمين و كفى الله المؤمنين القتال و اقام السلطان بشروان مدة ثم خاد الى همدان فوصلها في جنادي الاخرة ،

² M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368.

³ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irāq*, Ar. text, p. 141.

⁴ In 515, 516, or 517 A.H., according to al-Qalānī, the *Georgian Chronicle*, and Ibnu'l-Athīr respectively. See the *History of Damascus*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (1908), pp. 204-5; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. M. Brosset, p. 367; and the *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, *sub anno* 517 A.H. See also an article by M. Defrémy, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1849.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368, and *Chronique Arménienne*, p. 59.

⁶ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 174 :

قلعة كلسنان شه فلة بوقيس دان حصن شانجيش حرم كمه سرای تازه ين

⁷ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 370; also *Chronique Arménienne*, p. 60.

and citadels of Shirwān, and ordered his chief secretary, Bishop Simon of Bédia, to supervise the administration of the country.”¹ The attempt, however, was belated, for David died on the 24th January, 1125 A.D., and, thereafter, nothing is heard of Georgians in Shirwān until their reappearance in a different rôle c. 1170-75 A.D. = 565-70 A.H.

The Later Years of Minūchihir's Reign

“There are only two odes of Khāqānī in honour of Minūchihir,”² says Khānikow, “and in these two odes I have only been able to find two historical references—firstly, that the prince suppressed a rising of the Qipchāqs (a Turkish tribe which occupied the northern part of Talish, or perhaps of their compatriots settled in Georgia by David the Restorer); and secondly, that he reigned thirty years.”³ In one of his odes Falakī refers to a victory of Minūchihir II against the infidels⁴ and this victory is no doubt the suppression of the Qipchāqs recorded by Khāqānī⁵:

جلالِ ملّت و تاجِ ملوكِ فخر الدّین

سیہرِ مهرِ منوچہرِ مشتریِ اخلاق

زبس که ریخت ازین پیش خونِ خفچاقان

بندوی گھری چون پرندِ چین برآق

عجب مدار که از روح نامیه زین پس

بجایِ سبزه ز گل بر دمد سرِ خفچاق

The glory of the nation, and the crown of kings, Fakhrū'd-Dīn; the sphere of love, Minūchihir, whose manners are bright as Jupiter.

Considering the blood of the Qipchāqs spilt by him with his Indian damascened sword, flashing like Chinese silk,

Thou needst not be astonished if, by his creative force, the earth produced heads of Qipchāqs, in place of plants.

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 370.

² This statement is incorrect; see *supra*, p. 13.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

⁴ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 810-11.

بفتحها و ظفرها که کرده در دین فرشتگان سما را بر آن کوا داری

کتون سزاست که این نصرت مبارک را طرازِ جله ظفرها و فتحها داری

⁵ *Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 541; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 115b; Add. 25,808, f. 111b-112a, etc.

It appears, however, from Falakī that Minūchihir II put down the turbulent Qipchāqs without the aid of the Seljūq of 'Irāq.¹

There can be no doubt that Minūchihir II proved eventually to be a firm ruler, for, apart from maintaining order in his own realm, he is credited by Khāqānī with the conquest of the neighbouring kingdom of Arrān²:

جام ست یا جوزاست آن یا چون ید بیضاست آن
یا یعنی با الهیجاست آن در قلب هیجا داشته
از فتح ارّان نام را نزیور زده ایام را
فتح عراق و شام را وقتی مسمّا داشته

Is it the cup (of Jamshīd), or Arion, or the hand of Moses? Or is it the sword of [A]bū'l-Hayjā unsheathed by him in the centre of the battle?

By his conquest of Arrān he made his name illustrious in the world, and he fixed another time for the conquest of 'Irāq and Syria.

Minūchihir's political relations with King Dimitri I of Georgia (1125-54 A.D.) are uncertain. In 532 A.H. Derbend was raided by Dimitri, who carried away as trophies the famous gates of Derbend³:

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 714:

از عون همت توهمات مُلک و دین بی یاری خلیفه و سلطان بر آمده

² *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 411-12; India Office MSS. No. 1767, f. 164a; No. 1264, f. 104b; No. 589, f. 58a; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 184a-b; and Add. 7726, f. 74b-75a. The Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 16,773, f. 89b, and Add. 25,808, f. 93a, have ایران in place of ارّان. Other variants are لدان and ازان.

Khānikow (Mélanges Asiatiques, iii, p. 118 and p. 134) ascribes this ode to Akhsatān, but Abū'l-Hayjā was the title of Minūchihir II and not of Akhsatān I.

Khāqānī also says, Lucknow ed., p. 548; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 215a (in the elegy on Minūchihir II):

کو آن خراج ری ز عراق آوریدنش کو آن مصاف غز بخراسان شکستش

Where is the tribute he imposed on Ray and brought from 'Irāq? Where is the defeat on the Ghuzz troops he inflicted in Khurāsān?

As Ibnul-Athīr records several invasions of the Ghuzz in Khurāsān it is not possible to refer Khāqānī's allusion to a particular date. The Ghuzz campaign of Minūchihir II is a poetic exaggeration.

³ Wakhouch and Brosset claim to have seen these gates in the church at Gélatā. According to Wakhouch (*Description Géographique de la Géorgie*, p. 359, St. Petersburg, 1842), "the doors were brought from Derbend by David the Restorer," but M. Brosset states in the *Histoire de la Géorgie*, note, p. 369: "A Georgian inscription which I have collected at Gélatā tells us that King Dimitri brought away the gates in the 13th year of his reign." Derbend was therefore raided in 1125 A.D. + 13 = 1138 A.D. = 532 A.H.

there is no evidence, however, that at that time Derbend belonged to Minūchihir II.¹ Falakī contrasts the prosperity of Shirwān with the chaos formerly prevalent,² alluding probably to the Georgian raids of 517-18 A.H.

Amongst the other *minutiae* of Minūchihir's reign is the inundation caused by the bursting of the Bāqilānī dam, probably in 532 A.H. Says Khāqānī in an ode hitherto unnoticed³:

نم او چون اسم اعظم تاج اسا دان ازانک
حلقه میم منوچهرست طوق اصیا

بود در احکام خسرو کر پس سی و دو سال
خسپ آب و باد خواهد بود در اقلیم ما

آب را بر بست دست و باد را بشکست پای
تانه ز آب آید گرند و نه ز باد آید بلا

زانکه چون محل این بنا را خود مهندس بود شاه
آب چون آئینه شان انگبین گشت از صفا

تا بقارون برد بند و گنج قارون بر گشاد
ریختهای هر کسی را گنجها دادش جزا

از ملائک نعمت بر خاست کاینک بر زمین
شاه بند باقلانی بست ماند قبا

Regard his name, like the Divine Name, to be the crown of names, because the curve of the *mīm* [م] of Minūchihir is the collar of the Holy Ones.

It was in the king's decrees (of judicial astrology) that, after two and thirty years, damage would be caused by wind and water in our land.

¹ See *supra*, p. 1.

² *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 655:

شورة شروان که جای شور و شر دیو بود از بیری رویان ترک و ترکمان آراسته

³ *Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 63-65; also Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 117a-b; Add. 25,018, f. 11b, etc. Khāqānī refers to the dam in another ode (also unnoticed), Lucknow ed., pp. 743-44.

The king bound the hands of the water and broke the legs of the wind, so that neither water nor wind might cause destruction.

And since, like the bees, the king himself was the engineer of this structure, the water, like the honeycomb of bees, became honey in purity.

The king carried the dam to (where) Qārūn (is buried, i.e. to the bowels of the earth),¹ and unlocked the treasures of Qārūn : he gave every labourer treasures for his pains.

The angels shouted : Behold, on the earth, the king has bound the BAND-I-BĀQILĀNī like a girdle.

The words سی و دو سال either represent the thirty-second year of Minūchihr's reign or are an abbreviation of پانصد و سی و دو سال just as we might say '28 for 1928. Now the entire length of Minūchihr's reign, according to Khāqānī himself, was thirty years ; consequently, adopting the second alternative, the inundation occurred in 532 A.H. Unfortunately, I have not been able to identify Bāqilān, but as canals were cut from the River Kur to irrigate the Gushtāsfī district,² the Bāqilānī dam must have been situated on the River Kur. Further, it appears from Falakī that the Bāqilānī dam was rebuilt by Minūchihr II, not at its original site, but, elsewhere, up the river, probably to prevent a recurrence of the flood by the accumulation of a large head of water³ :

باقلاني بود اکنون ناقلاني شد که شاه
 نقل کردهش تا فلك زائل کند نقصان ازو
 باقلاني ناقلاني شد چو شاهش نقل کرد
 بر کمالي کاسمان نقصان کند نقصان ازو
 بند طوفان بست و لان از باقلاني برگرفت
 بند باقي ماند و در باقي شد آن طوفان ازو
 شاه بواليجا منوجه آنکه نو شد در جهان
 دولت کي خسرو و انصاف نوشيروان ازو

¹ See *Qur'an*, xxviii, 81 : We made the earth swallow him (Qārūn) and his abode.

² *Histoire du Sultan Djelal Ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. O. Houdas, p. 174, Paris (1891) ; *Nuzhatu'l-Qulub*, ed. le Strange, p. 92.

³ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 498-500 and 504.

It was BĀQILĀNĪ and now became NĀQILĀNĪ for the king shifted it, so that heaven might eliminate its defect.

The BĀQILĀNĪ dam became NĀQILĀNĪ when the king shifted it: it had occasioned loss exactly like the sky.¹

The king bound the dam of the flood and removed LĀN from BĀQILĀNĪ: the dam alone remained (lit. BAND BĀQĪ remained) and the flood disappeared.

The king [A]bū'l-Hayjā Minūchihir by whom has been revived in the world the government of Kay Khusraw and the justice of Nūshirwān.

Originally BĀQILĀNĪ, the dam became NĀQILĀNĪ by bursting its bounds and having its site shifted upwards, for if the position of the first dot in BĀQILĀNĪ be shifted upwards, the word is converted from لان LAN to ناقلي NĀQILĀNĪ. Moreover, if LAN be removed from بند باقى BAND-I-BĀQILĀNĪ, the result is بند باقى BAND BĀQĪ—

بند باقى - لان = بند باقى

—expressed by Falakī as a mathematical equation :

«بند باقى» ماند و در باقى شد آن طوفان ازو

The Court of Minūchihir II

There remains now the royal court. Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Ñašr Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'l-lāh was the Prime Minister, for Falakī calls him *Sayyidu'l-Wuzarā*²:

بینم از همه جانب سخن شود کوتاه	چو من جمال خداوند من جمال الدین
نظام ملک ملیک مسخر بن عبدالله	قوام دولت ابوالنصر سید الوزرا
از وست حاصل تو قیر ملک شروانشاه	از وست باقی ترتیب دین یغمبر

• When I behold the beauty of my lord, Jamālu'd-Dīn, speech of every kind is arrested.

The support of the government, Abū'l-Ñašr *Sayyidu'l-Wuzara*; the administrator of the realm, Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'l-lāh.

Because of him the religion of the Prophet remains in order; because of him is the honour of the kingdom of the Shirwānshāh.

¹ In Persian literature the sky is the source of all trouble.

² *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 526-27 and 530.

Another of Minūchihir's ministers was Aminu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī, described as a man of piety and a patron of "philosophers, physicians, astrologers, poets, and traditionists" ¹:

ولی پناه تو گر خواجه رئیس بود روا بود که ز جور زمانه نه اسی
اصیل زاده شروان گرین امین الدین اجل محمد عبدالجلیل اه راسی

Thou needst not fear the oppression of the times if thy protector should be my lord, the minister.

Born of the noblest stock of Shirwān, the select and great Aminu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī.

Further, there was the literary circle composed of Abū'l-'Alā, Khāqānī, and Falakī. Dawlatshāh adds the names of Nizāmī of Ganjah, Sayyid-i-Dhu'l-fiqār, and Shāhfūr,² whilst Taqī Awḥadī furnishes the names of Mujīru'd-Dīn-i-Baylaqānī and 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī.³ Nizāmī dedicated his *Laylā wa Majnūn* to Akhsatān I; the other poets mentioned by Dawlatshāh and Taqī Awḥadī were not even remotely connected with the court of Shirwān.⁴

Abū'l-'Alā was the poet laureate and premier courtier of the king⁵: his two lieutenants were Khāqānī (who derived his *takhallus* from the royal title "Khāqān") and Falakī. Learning, however, was not always patronized at Shirwān: Falakī was imprisoned by Minūchihir II and Khāqānī by Akhsatān I, whilst Abū'l-'Alā himself acknowledges that

¹ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 728-29.

² Browne's ed., p. 71.

³ India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 857b. This *tadzhīrah* of Taqī Awḥadī is in the register of uncatalogued MSS.

⁴ With the exception of 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī, these poets are known by their *dīwāns*. Taqī Awḥadī (India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 858a) cites a *qasīdah* of 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī with the following couplets:

علایی دولت و دین آنکه در ممالک او ز هیتش بعدها کند زمانه مدار
ابوالظفر شاهنشی که روز نبرد به آب تغیر بر انگرد از سپهر بخار

'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī belonged probably to the court of Atsiz Khwārazmshāh, for Abū'l-Muzaffar 'Alā'u'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn were the titles of Atsiz. Cf. *Dīwān-i-Rashīdu'd-Dīn-i-Waṭwāt* (Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,791, f. 52a):

شاو غاری علایی دولت و دین آن فلک قدر جاه کوه و وقار
بوالظفر بناه دین اتسز ک ظفر را ز تغیر اوست شمار

The coins of Fariburz III b. Garsasp bear the titles "Abū'l-Muzaffar 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā (not Dawlat) wa'd-Dīn.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 95.

“ people are desirous of wading in his blood ”. Could *Abū'l-'Alā*'s *dīwān* be discovered it would no doubt be found to contain, like the *dīwāns* of *Khāqānī* and *Falakī*, some *habṣiyāt* or prison-poems.

AKHSATĀN I

In different MSS. of *Khāqānī* and *Nīzāmī*, whose *Laylā wa Majnūn* is dedicated to *Akhsatān* I, the word *Akhsatān* is spelt as أختسان “ AKHTSĀN ”, or اختسان “ AKHTSHĀN ”, or AKHSTĀN ”; accordingly the reading of Dorn,¹ Khānikow,² and Zambour³ is *Akhistān*; of Salemann⁴ and Pakhomow,⁵ *Akhsitān*; of Rieu⁶ and Huart,⁷ *Akhsatān*; of Prof. Browne,⁸ *Akhtisān*; and of Ethé,⁹ *Akhsatān*, *Akhtasān*, or *Akhtashān*. The confusion, however, can be eliminated by determining (i) the spelling of the word and (ii) its pronunciation.

One of the three variants found in Persian MSS. is أختسان “ AKHSTĀN ”, and as this spelling is supported by numismatic and epigraphic evidence given below it must obviously be correct. Consequently the reading, *Akhtashān*, of Ethé and *Akhtisān* of Prof. Browne is inadmissible.

Now, as shown by Salemann,¹⁰ the measure of the word AKHSTĀN in the poems of *Khāqānī* is | — — |¹¹; consequently, the reading *Akhistān*, of Dorn, Khānikow, and Zambour, cannot be accepted, for the measure of AKHISTĀN is | — — — |. Further, as the reading of the name in the *Georgian Chronicle* is *Aghsarthān*,¹² the correct pronunciation of AKHSTĀN must be أختسان “ AKHSATĀN ”.

¹ B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker, aus Morgenländischen Quellen. I. Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, p. 551, St. Petersburg (1841).

² *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

³ E. de Zambour, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 182, Hanover (1927).

⁴ C. Salemann, *Chetverostishia Khākānī*, p. 12, St. Petersburg (1875).

⁵ E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhana s priloz. ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov*, p. 34, Baku (1923).

⁶ C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 559, col. 1.

⁷ Cl. Huart, article on *Khākānī*, *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

⁸ E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 394.

⁹ H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office, Index*.

¹⁰ C. Salemann, *Chetverostishia Khākānī*, n. 2, p. 12, St. Petersburg (1875).

¹¹ *Infra*, p. 29, n. 1.

¹² M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 397.

The Titles of Akhsatān I

“Akhsatān, whose *laqab* was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm,” says Khānikow, “and whose titles were Jalālu’d-Dīn, Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, and Fakhrū’d-Dīn, was born in the same year as Khāqānī, namely 500 A.H.”¹ In revising this statement Pakhomow writes: “The *laqab* of Akhsatān was probably Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, by which name, in an elegy on his death, he is called by Khāqānī. Khānikow also mentions the titles Fakhrū’d-Dīn and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, but whence he got the first is unknown to me, and the second has arisen from a misunderstanding: the poet simply compares the Shirwānshāh with the prophet Abraham father of Isaac.”² The *laqab* Fakhrū’d-Dīn belongs to Minūchihir II, but has inaccurately found its way in the explanatory titles of some of Khāqānī’s odes addressed to Akhsatān. Similarly, the following *tarjī-band* addressed to Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm is the supposed elegy on Akhsatān³:

شہنشاہی کہ درع شمع ہم بالای او آمد
قوی دستی کہ فرش عرش نطبع بای او آمد
امام شرع سلطان طریقت ناصر الدین آن
کہ تا رایات او آمد نگون شد چتیر بیدیان
ابو اسحاق ابراهیم کاندر حیب انعامش
یکندرہ نبی سلیمان سپھر و هفت اجرامش

The Emperor to whose measure fits the cuirass of the Religious Law; the potentate for whose feet the floor of heaven serves as a carpet.

The Imām of the Religious Law, the Sultān of the Path (of Mysticism), Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, before whose standards the umbrellas of the infidels are overthrown.

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, in whose purse of gifts, the heavens and the seven bodies (planets) have not the value of an atom.

By misunderstanding the words شہنشاہ شمع “Emperor of the Religious Law” and سلطان طریقت “Sultān of the Path of Mysticism”,

¹ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirvanshakhov*, p. 37, Baku, 1923.

³ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 171–72. The elegy comprises pp. 169–73.

Khānikow concluded that the elegy is addressed to Akhsatān, and inferred, in consequence, that Khāqānī survived Akhsatān. This inference has been accepted by Rieu,¹ Prof. Browne,² and Pakhomow, but I have found no reference in the *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī* to the death of Akhsatān. On the other hand, I have found that the theologian Nāṣiru'd-Din Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm of Shamākhī was a great friend of Khāqānī's, for there are two panegyrics in his honour³:

امام ام ناصر الدین که در دین امامت جز او را مسلم ندارم
براهیم خوشنام کر مدهش الٰ صفات براهیم ادهم ندارم

The Imām of the people, Nāṣiru'd-Din, whom I regard indispensable for the religious office of the *Imāmat*.

Ibrāhīm is his pleasant name, and when I recite his praise I recall the virtues of none save Ibrāhīm b. Adham.⁴

حافظ اعلام شرع ناصر دین رسول کر مدد علم اوست نصرت حزب خدا
صدر براہیم نام راد سلیمان جلال خواجه موسی سخن مهر احمد سخا
گردو شود قبله مان بس عجیبی نی ازانک کو بشماخی نهاد کعبہ دیگر بنا

The guardian of the standards of the Religious Law, the defender of the religion (Nāṣir-i-Din) of the Prophet ; by the aid of his learning is won the victory of "the party of Allāh".⁵

The pontiff with the name of Ibrāhīm ; the philanthropist with the glory of Solomon ; the minister with the eloquence of Moses ; the nobleman with the generosity of Muḥammad.

Were the *qiblas* to become two there would be no wonder, for he has laid in Shamākhī the foundation of a second Ka'ba.

Proceeding now to the actual titles of Akhsatān, the requisite information is contained in six couplets of the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Nizāmī, where Akhsatān appears as Jalālu'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Muzaffar

¹ C. Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, p. 559, col. 1.

² E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 398 (1906).

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 278-80 and 485-91. The extracts cited occur on p. 279 and pp. 487-90.

⁴ A celebrated mystic who died c. 777 A.D.

⁵ See *Qur'ān*, v, 56.

Maliku'l-Mu'azzam Akhsatān b. Minūchihr, Shirwānshāh, Khāqān-i-Kabir or Akbar¹:

مطلق ملِك الملوكِ عالم
يعني كه جلالِ دولت و دین
زیننده ملِك هفت کشور
کی خسرو کی قباد پایه
مُهُریست که مِهْر شد غلامش
دُر صدفِ ملِك منوچهر

خاقانِ جهان ملِك معظم
صاحبِ جهتِ جلال و تمکین
تاجِ ملِکان ابوالظفیر
شروانشِ آفتاد سایه
شاهِ سخی اخستان که نامش
بهرام نژادِ مشتری چهر

The Coins of Akhsatān I

The coins of Akhsatān I belong to four different sets, as follows :

A

Obv.	Rev.
المستجد	الملك
بالله السلطان	العظيم
اسلا شاه (sic)	اخستان بن
لا اله الا الله	منوچهر

B

Obv.	Rev.
المستضي	الملك
بامر الله ا (sic)	العظيم
السلطان ا (sic)	اخستان بن
طغيل	منوچهر

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88a. For the title " Khāqān-i-Kabir " see *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 119 :

کشتی بیروزی از دریاچه غب
بر در شاه اخستان بیرون فتاد
کسری اسلام و خاقان کبیر
خسرو سلطان نشان در شرق و غرب

C

Obv.	Rev.
الله	الله
محمد رسول	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المظيم
السلطان اعظم	اخستان بن منوجهر
طغرييل	

D

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المظيم
امير المؤمنين	اخستان بن منوجهر
	شروانشاه

As the caliph al-Mustanjid ruled from 555–66 A.H., and Arslān Şah (the Aslā Şah of the coins) b. Tughril II from 556–73 A.H., the coins of set A were minted between 556–66 A.H. Secondly, as the caliph al-Mustadī ruled from 566–75 A.H., and Sultān Tughril III b. Arslān Şah from 573–90 A.H., the coins of set B were minted between 573–75 A.H. Thirdly, as the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīnīllāh ruled from 575–622 A.H., and Sultān Tughril III b. Arslān Şah from 573–90 A.H., the coins of set C were minted between 575–90 A.H. Fourthly, as Sultān Tughril III died in 590 A.H., and as after him the Seljūqs of 'Irāq were displaced by the Şahs of Khwārazm, the coins of set D, which contain the name of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīnīllāh, but do not contain the name of Sultān Tughril, must have been minted after 590 A.H. Finally, as Minūchihr II died about 544 A.H., and as coins of set A only commence from 556 A.H., a fifth set of coins, with the name of the caliph al-Muqtāfi, still remain to be discovered. It is noteworthy that the coins of set D

have the title “Shirwānshāh” inserted for the first time, and that, whilst the coins of Akhsatān’s predecessors bear the title “al-Malik”, those of Akhsatān bear the title “al-Maliku’l-Mu’azzam”.

The Duration of Akhsatān’s Reign

Like his father, Akhsatān I enjoyed a long reign. He was living in 583 A.H., as is shown by the following inscription, discovered by Khānikow¹ in the village of Būzawnān in the peninsula of Bākū:

... عَلِمَ مَلِكِ الْإِسْلَامِ شَرْوَانْشَاهَ اخْسَتَانَ بْنَ مُنْجَهِ...
در تاریخ سنه ملاٽ و ثانین و خمسیة

“... world, king of Islām, Shirwānshāh, Akhsatān ibn Minūchihir ... in the year 583 A.H.”

He was also living in 584 A.H., for the *Laylā wa Majnūn* was dedicated by Nizāmī to Akhsatān I in 584 A.H.²:

تاریخ عیان کے داشت با خود هشاد و چهار بعد پانصد

The obvious date he had before him was 584 A.H.

In 600 A.H., however, Farrukhzhād b. Minūchihir II was the ruling sovereign, as is proved by the following inscription discovered by Khānikow in the village of Mardakān in the peninsula of Bākū³:

امْرَ بِنَا هَذَا (sic) الْقَلْعَةُ فِي أَيَّامِ الْمَلِكِ الْمُعْظَمِ الْعَالَمِ الْعَادِلِ
الْمُوَيْدِ الْمُفْلِحِ الْمُنْصُورِ... فَخْرُ الدُّنْيَا وَالدِّينِ [فَرَخْزَ]اد
بْنُ مُنْجَهِ نَاصِرُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ كَرْشَاسِبْ صَاحِبُ سِبَا سَفَهَالَارِ اَجَلِ
الْعَالَمِ الْمُوَيْدِ الْمُوْفَرِ... لِلْمُوْلَةِ وَالدِّينِ... اَسْحَقُ بْنُ
كَاكِ... لِي اَدَمَ اللَّهُ تَائِيَهُ تاریخ سنه ستایه امرداد ماه

“This fortress was ordered to be built in the time of the great king, . . ., the victorious Fakhru’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn [Farrukhzhād⁴ b. Minūchihir, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, by Garshāsp,

¹ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

² Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88a.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

⁴ The missing letters have been inserted on the basis of numismatic evidence.

possessor of troops, commander-in-chief, the most glorious person of the world, the aided, the plentifully equipped . . . for state and religion . . . Ishāq, son of Kākā, may God give him His help for ever, in the month of Amurdād, year 600 [A.H.]".¹

Therefore, Akhsatān I died between 584 and 600 A.H. This interval, however, can be shortened—partly because some of Akhsatān's coins (set D) seem to have been minted after 590 A.H., and partly because Akhsatān survived Khāqānī, in whose *dīwān* there is no reference to the death of Akhsatān.

The problem, therefore, is to determine the date of Khāqānī's death. In the *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī* there are four odes² in honour of Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz, who reigned 581–87 A.H. Further, as has been noticed by Rieu, Khwand Amīr states in his *Haibibū's-Siyar*,³ composed in 930 A.H., that “after the capture of Isfahān in 590 A.H.⁴ Khāqānī addressed an ode to Sultān Takish Khwārazmshāh with the two opening couplets :

مُلکِ عراقین را همچو خراسان گرفت
مورچهٔ تیغ او مُلکِ سلیمان گرفت
مردہ که خوارزمشا مُلکِ صفاهان گرفت
ما هچه چتر او قلعهٔ گردون گشاد

Rejoice, for the Khwārazmshāh has captured Isfahān ; he has seized the two 'Irāqs even as he seized Khurāsān.

The knob of his umbrella has flung open the fortress of heaven ; and the hilt of his scimitar has captured the land of Solomon."

This ode is not to be found in the Lucknow edition or in the British Museum and India Office MSS. of Khāqānī; it is also not to be found in the *diwāns* of poets contemporary with Sultān Takish.⁵ To whom, then,

¹ The date must be 600 A.H., because 600 A.J. is obviously impossible, and 600 A.Y. equals 628 A.H. Now the *Širwānshāh*, from at least 622 A.H. to 640 A.H., was *Fariburz III*, contemporary on his coins with al-*Nāṣir* (575–622 A.H.), al-*Mustānṣir* (623–40 A.H.), and al-*Mustā'īsim* (640–56 A.H.).

³ Lucknow ed., pp. 141-52; 368-74; 425-31; and 498-507. In these odes the name Qizil-Arsân occurs on pp. 151, 371, 428, and 503.

³ Br. Mus. MS. Add. 27,237, f. 495a.

* The date should be 592 A.H.

⁵ *Tukush*, according to Rieu, and *Takash*, according to Barthold, but the form is fixed by the following *qaṣidah* in the *Dīwān-i-Kamālu'd-Dīn Ismā'il* of *Īshāhān* (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 473, f. 11b-12a) where the terminal words are *manīsh*, *rawīsh*, *damīsh*, *parwārīsh*, . . . *Takīsh*, etc.: [— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —]

ای ز رایت مُلک و دین در ناژش و در پرَوَرَش ای شهنشاه فریدون فر اسکندرمَیش

با فلک گفتم کجا دانی یناهی آنچناند
صیغه صادق بالی خندان اشارت کرد و گفت
بخت افتاده شود در سایه او مُتّعِش
درگه سلطان علاءالدین و الدینیا نکش

does the ode belong? Says the historian 'Aṭā Malik-i-Juwaynī in his *History of the Khwārazmshāhs*, composed in 657 A.H.¹:

در سنه اشتين و تسعين و خمسايه سلطان تکش عازم عراق گشت و از
 آنجا باصفهان حرکت فرمود و اين قطعه خاقاني راست
 مرده که خوارزمشاه ملک سپاهان گرفت ملک عراقين را همچو خراسان گرفت
 ماهجهه چتر او قلعه گردون گشود مورجهه گردون گشود او ملک سپاهان گرفت

In the year 592 A.H. Sultān Takīsh proceeded to 'Irāq . . . and thence to Isfahān; and Khāqānī composed the following fragment.²

Khāqānī was, therefore, alive till 592 A.H., and consequently Akhsatān, who survived Khāqānī, died between 593 and 600 A.H.

Akhsatān's Marriage and Children

The wife of Akhsatān was his cousin, the princess, 'Iṣmatu'd-Dīn Ṣafwatu'd-Dīn Ṣafwatu'l-Islām³:

میوه شاخ فریزِ ملک آبا دیده ام هم بیانگر ملک آبا دیده ام
 گوهرِ کان فریدون شهید بر فرازِ تاج دارا دیده ام
 عصمه الدین صفوه لاسلام را افتخار دین و دنیا دیده ام

 چشمہ بانو درختت اخستان هردو باهم سعد و اسما دیده ام

I have seen the fruit of the branch of King Farīburz in the garden of the kingdom of her ancestors.

I have seen the gem from the mine of Farīdūn the martyr, adorning the crown of Darius.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-guṣhā*, vol. ii, pp. 38–39, ed. Mirza Muḥammad (1916).

² Khāqānī has an ode on 'Alā'u'd-Duwal Khwārazmshāh (Lucknow ed., pp. 507–12), written in Khāqānī's 24th year, and, therefore, about 524 A.H. (for Khāqānī was born c. 500 A.H.). As Atsiz Khwārazmshāh ruled from 521–51 A.H., and as Rashīdu'd-Dīn-i-Watwāt (*Diwān*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,791, f. 52a) calls Atsiz "'Alā'u'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn", the 'Alā'u'd-Duwal of Khāqānī must be Atsiz. Elsewhere (Lucknow ed., pp. 747–48), the identity of the Khwārazmshāh is not revealed.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 238–40; also Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 132b; Add. 25,018, f. 130b, etc.

I have seen 'Işmatu'd-Din Şafwatu'l-Islām as the glory of religion and the world.

The Queen is a stream, and Akhsatān a tree ; I have seen them together like Sa'd and Asmā.¹

"From these lines," says Pakhomow, "Khānikow concluded that Queen 'Işmatu'd-Din was the daughter of Fariburz and the grandchild of Faridūn I, but such can hardly be the case ; the poet simply refers to the royal origin of his patroness and names two of her ancestors. I believe that Malik Fariburz was Fariburz I, the founder of the dynasty, and Faridūn was perhaps the son of this Fariburz."² The mention of Faridūn "the martyr" proves beyond doubt that the Faridūn intended is Faridūn I, grandfather of Akhsatān I, who, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, was killed in 514 A.H. in a campaign against Derbend.³ Now, 'Işmatu'd-Din cannot be the daughter of this Faridūn I, because then, being the aunt of Akhsatān I, she could not have married him. Consequently, 'Işmatu'd-Din was the grandchild of Faridūn I, and as there is independent evidence to show that Fariburz I was the father of Faridūn I,⁴ Pakhomow's conjecture would appear to be more reliable than the conclusion of Khānikow. If so, who was the father of 'Işmatu'd-Din and why has his name been withheld?⁵ Can it be that 'Işmatu'd-Din was the grandchild of Faridūn I, not because her father was the son but because her mother was the daughter of Faridūn I ? At any rate, Khāqānī does mention that Faridūn I had a daughter who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶

¹ *Ghiyāthu'l-Lughāt* explains Sa'd and Asmā as the proper names of a lover and beloved respectively.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov*, p. 31, Baku (1923).

³ *Supra*, pp. 7-8.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 6-7.

⁵ The expression—میوہ شاخ فریبرز ملک—merely shows that 'Işmatu'd-Din was a descendant of King Fariburz. Khāqānī mentions the name of Fariburz in three other places, without giving any genealogical clue. Firstly, in an ode addressed to 'Işmatu'd-Din when she was about to give birth to a child (Lucknow ed., p. 248) :

خواهی نهیش نام منوچهر ناجوی خواهی کبیش نام فریبرز نامدار

Secondly, in congratulating 'Işmatu'd-Din on the birth of a son, afterwards named Fariburz (Lucknow ed., p. 656) :

جان فریبرز ازین شرف طرب افود ذات منوچهر ازین خبر بطر آورد

Thirdly, in a New Year's ode addressed to Akhsatān I (Lucknow ed., p. 365) :

با روانهای فریبرز [فریدون ۷] و منوچهر از بهشت نور و فر بر فرق شاه کامران افشارنداند

⁶ *Supra*, p. 6.

By his marriage with 'Ismatu'd-Dīn, Akhsatān had a son, Fariburz, and a daughter, Iljik: the former died young, and the latter, in her infancy.¹ According to Nīzāmī, the heir-apparent in 584 A.H. was Minūchīhr b. Akhsatān,² but this prince did not succeed to the throne of Shirwān, as will be seen hereafter.

The Reign of Akhsatān I

The political relations of Akhsatān with the Muslim Atābeks of Ādharbayjān are unknown. According to the *Rawdatu's-Ṣafā*³ and the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*,⁴ Ildigiz⁵ captured the whole of Shirwān including Bākū. This story is based, probably, on the defeat inflicted by Ildigiz on Giorgi III, son of Dimitri I and grandson of David II, in 558 A.H. The Georgian campaigns of Ildigiz during 558-71 A.H. are fully described in *The History of Damascus*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, but there is no evidence that Ildigiz ever marched against Akhsatān I or seized his territory.

Similarly, the capture of Shamākhī attributed by Khānikow to Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz⁶ is an unfortunate error due to a misinterpretation of Khāqānī. For, firstly, the couplet

¹ *Kulliyūt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 553 and 557; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 216b and 218a:

گرگوش تان اشارت غبی شنیده نیست بر خال روضه دار فریز بگذرید

آن مام نو کجاست که مه خال پای اوست الجل آنکه حجه جنات جای اوست

² *Laylā wa Majnūn* in the *Khamsah* of Nīzāmī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88b:

آن یوسف هفت بزم نو عهد هم والی عهد و هم ولی عهد

فرزند شه اخستان منوجه نو مجلس و نو نشاط و نو مهر

چشم ملک اخستان کشاده ای از شرف تو شاهزاده

³ *Tīhrān* ed., vol. iv, p. 512:

عاقت سلطان مسعود ایلدگر را با طائفه از سیاه بجانب ارآن فرستاد — او در اندل زمانی
بقامت ازان و گجه و شیروان و با کو استیلا یافت

⁴ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 167b:

⁵ According to Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 171, Ildigiz ruled 531-68 A.H., but Fāriqī mentions a successful raid on Georgian territory by Ildigiz in 571 A.H. See *History of Damascus*, p. 48 and Ar. text, pp. 364-65 (1908).

⁶ "Akhsatān made Bākū his capital and proceeded to adorn it, while Shamākhī, the capital of Shirwān in the strict sense of the word, was in the possession of the Atābeks of Ādharbayjān, and Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz, being at war with the Seljūqs and fearing to remain in Nakhchīwān (where it was easier for the Seljūqs to reach him), had retired to Shamākhī." *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

زگلشگر عفو و اخلاق خوبش شاخی نظیر سپاهان نماید

By the sweetness of his grace and the goodness of his character,
Shamākhī resembles Iṣfahān.

is not in honour of Qizil-Arslān but of Malik Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī, Atābek of Moṣul,¹ and, secondly, it is doubtful whether the couplet is in honour even of the Atābek of Moṣul. There are two odes of Khāqānī, one, addressed to Akhsatān, beginning : [—|—|—|—|—]
مرا صبحدم شاهد جان نماید دم عاشق و بوی جانان نماید

The other, addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī, beginning : [—|—|—|—|—]
شہ اختران زان زرافشان نماید کہ اکسیر زرہای آبان نماید

Now as both odes have the same rhyme and metre, the verses of the two have become intermixed, rendering it impossible to determine whether the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Akhsatān I or to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī. For example, in the Lucknow edition, pp. 385-86, Paris MS. Suppl. Persan 1816, f. 88b, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 109a, and India Office MSS. No. 1264, f. 158a, No. 589, f. 175a, No. 2650, f. 216a, the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī. In the Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, Add. 16,773, and the India Office MS. No. 1767, the Shamākhī couplet is wanting²; whilst in the Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,018, f. 70b, the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Akhsatān I.³ Moreover, in the copies where the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī there are other couplets containing the words “Khāqān-i-Akbar” and “Malik Bū'l-Muẓaffar”—the titles of Akhsatān I.⁴ The confusion

¹ Khāqānī :

سپه دار اسلام منصور اتابک
کـکـتـر غـلامـش قـدرـ خـانـ نـمـایـد
مـلـکـ سـیـفـ دـینـ شـاـوـ غـازـیـ کـذـاشـ
کـیـمـرـتـ طـهـورـتـ اـمـکـانـ نـمـایـد

There are two Atābehs of Moṣul of this name—Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī I (541-44 A.H.) and Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī II (565-76 A.H.). The Sayfu'd-Dīn concerned should be Sayfu'd-Dīn II.

² It should have been on folios 84b, 81b, and 249a respectively.

جهاندار شہ اخستان کر طبیعت
کـیـمـرـتـ طـهـورـتـ اـمـکـانـ نـمـایـد
زـگـلـشـگـرـ لـفـظـ وـ تقـاحـ خـلـقـشـ

⁴ Lucknow ed., p. 385 and p. 387; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 109a and 109b; India Office MS. No. 1264, f. 158a and f. 158b, etc.

increases with the collation, and I have no doubt that the Shamākhī couplet is in honour of Akhsatān I.

And so, by elimination, the solitary event of Akhsatān's reign seems to have been the invasion of the Brodniki or Russian freebooters of the Volga, who, with a fleet of seventy-two or seventy-three sail, cast anchor at the island of Rūinās (Sari), pushed up the Kur, and reached Lambarān, 7½ miles from the Kur on the direct route from Shamākhī to Shūsha. Meanwhile, the Khazars, either on their own initiative or as allies of the Brodniki, occupied Derbend, and advancing twenty leagues south of the town, seized the citadel of Shābarān. In his distress Akhsatān sought the help of Giorgi III: the Brodniki were expelled from Shirwān and their fleet was scattered, probably by tempest; the Khazars were likewise defeated, and Shābarān and Derbend handed over to Akhsatān. These details are contained partly in the *Georgian Chronicle*¹:

“One day when the Shirwānshāh Aghsarthān, king of Müqān² and Shirwān, was troubled by the Khazars of Derbend, he complained to the King Giorgi III, who gathered his troops from both sides of the mountain Likh, and bringing with him Andronicus Comnenus, brother of the Emperor of Greece, he advanced as far as the gates of Derbend, ravaged the neighbourhood of Mushkūr and Sharabām, and took the town of Shābarān. When Giorgi III was at the gates of Shābarān, Andronicus knew how to win the esteem of the Tsar and his whole army. As for Giorgi III, he gave the town to the Shirwānshāh, his cousin-germain paternal.”

and partly in three victory-odes of Khāqānī, discovered by Khānikow³:

I⁴

خاقانِ کبیر ابوالظفیر سر جمله شده مظفرانرا
 شمشیرش از آسمان مدد یافت فتح دربند و شابرانرا
 فتح تو جنگ لشکرِ روس تاریخ شد آسمان فرانرا
 یک سهم تو خضر وار بشگافت هفتاد و سه کشتی ابرانرا

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 397.

² This is incorrect.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, pp. 117-18, and pp. 125-34.

⁴ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 481-84.

Khāqān-i-Kabīr, Abū'l-Muẓaffar has become the first of conquerors.
His sword obtained help from heaven in the conquest of Derbend and Shābarān.

Thy victory over the Russian troops became an era for those exalted like the heavens (i.e. kings).

One of thy arrows, like the prophet Khīdr,¹ smashed the 73 vessels of the raiders.

II²

هود همت شهریاری نوح دعوت خسروی
صرصر از خزان و طوفان از الان انگیخته
هیبت او مالک آئین و زبانی خاصیت
دونخ از دربند و ویل از شابران انگیخته
بر سر دریا ز نیلين تیغ کانز رویناس
تا جزیره رویناس و لنبران انگیخته
در جزیره رانده یک دریا ز خون رویان
موج از آن دریایی خون کوم کلان انگیخته
رایت شاه اخستان کاتا فتحنا فال اوست
در جهان آوازه شادی رسان انگیخته
یکدو روز این سگدلان انگیخته در شیروان
شورشی کارزنگ در مازندران انگیخته
سهم شاه انگیخته امروز در دربند و روس
شورشی کان سگدلان از شیروان انگیخته

A prince with the enterprise of Hūd and the eloquence of Noah ; he has raised a tempest amongst the Khazars and a deluge amongst the Alāns.

His terror, like the keeper of hell and with the quality of hell-fire, made of Derbend a hell and raised up lamentations in Shābarān.

¹ See *Qur'ān*, xviii, 71.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqāni*, Lucknow ed., pp. 61-2.

Over the surface of the sea, with his sword of indigo hue, he spread a layer of madder as far Lambarān and the island of Rūinās.¹

In the island (of Rūinās), with the blood of the Russians, he made 'the green one red', and the waves of this sea of blood upraised high mountains.

The standards of King Akhsatān, which bore the words 'Surely We have given to you (a clear victory)',² spread joyful tidings in the world.

For a couple of days these dog-hearted men committed in Shirwān disorders like those of Arzhang in Māzandarān.

To-day the terror of the King has caused in Derbend and Russia the same confusion as those dog-hearted men caused in Shirwān.

III³

روس و خزران بگریزند که در بحر خزر
فیض آن کف جواهر حشر آمیخته اند

The Russians and the Khazars flee, because the Sea of the Khazars (Caspian Sea) has felt the benefit of his hand full of pearls.

The date of the Russian invasion of Shirwān has been investigated by Dorn and Kunik, on the basis of the wanderings of Andronicus Comnenus who accompanied Giorgi III on his campaign against the Khazars at Shābarān. Dorn shows that in 1164 A.D. = 559 A.H. Andronicus was in Galicia with the Russian prince Jaroslaw Wladimir Kowitsch; in 1170 A.D. = 565 A.H. he was in Georgia as a guest of Giorgi III; and shortly after, he was in Asia Minor as a guest of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Qilij-Arslān (ruled 551-84 A.H.). Finally, from 1183-85 A.D. = 578-80 A.H. Andronicus was the Emperor of Byzantium. The date of the Russian invasion would, therefore, be 565 A.H., when Andronicus was in Georgia. Dorn, however, places it "provisionally" in 1173 or 1175 A.D. = 568 or 570 A.H.⁴

The reign of Akhsatān is now complete. Remembered chiefly as the

¹ "The island of Rūinās is either Narguen or Sari—probably the latter, which is specially fit for the cultivation of indigo, and which, because of its sources of fresh water, may have served as a station for the Russian fleet."

² *Qur'ān*, xlvi, 1.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqāni*, Lucknow ed., p. 393.

⁴ B. Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 240, St. Petersburg (1875).

patron of Khāqānī, Akhsatān is also the *mamdūh* of the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Nizāmī, and of an ode of Zahiru'd-Din-i-Fāryābī.¹ Finally, Akhsatān is mentioned as a contemporary of Qizil-Arslān, in a couplet of Athīru'd-Din-i-Akhsikatī.²

The Successors of Akhsatān I

Akhsatān I was succeeded not by his son Minūchihīr, but by his brothers, Shāhinshāh b. Minūchihīr and Farrukhzhād b. Minūchihīr: the former is known by his coins; the latter by his inscription, dated 600 A.H. Minūchihīr b. Akhsatān I, apparently, never obtained the throne of Shirwān, for the Shirwānshāhs who ruled contemporaneously with the caliph al-Nāṣir (575–622 A.H.) are³: (i) Akhsatān I b. Minūchihīr II; (ii) Shāhinshāh b. Minūchihīr II; (iii) Farrukhzhād b. Minūchihīr II; (iv) Garshāsp b. Farrukhzhād b. Minūchihīr II; (v) Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Fariburz II b. Afridūn b. Minūchihīr II; and (vi) 'Alā'u'd-Dunyā wa'd-Din Abū'l-Muzaffar Fariburz III b. Garshāsp b. Farrukhzhād b. Minūchihīr II. Fariburz III b. Garshāsp was also a contemporary of the caliphs al-Mustansīr (623–40 A.H.) and al-Must'aṣīm (640–56 A.H.) and, therefore, must have enjoyed a long reign. A coin of his son, Akhsatān II b. Fariburz III, is dated 653 A.H.

¹ *Diwān-i-Zahiru'd-Din-i-Fāryābī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,498, f. 34a–b :

ای جهانرا بین داده قرار
کرد شاهن به بندگیت افراز
شاو آفاق اخستان تونی آنل
خواهد از خنجرت اجل زنهر

² *Diwān-i-Athīru'd-Din-i-Akhsikatī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 268, f. 154a :

ز ارسلان جو بود ره باخستان نزدیک
(sic) ز روی فضل نگویم از ره گنтар

³ This list is based on numismatic evidence kindly supplied to me by M. R. Vasmer of Leningrad; consequently, al-Nasawī is wrong in stating that Afridūn b. Fariburz was the Shirwānshāh in 622 A.H. (*supra*, n. 2, p. 5).

وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ
وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ
وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ
وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ	وَالْأَسْلَعُونَ لِنَفْسِهِ لَتَ

أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ
أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ
أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ
أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ	أَذَاءَكَلَّكَلَّ أَسْنَهَ مَدَّ شَارَ

THE LIFE OF FALAKI-I-SHIRWANI

The Three Falakis

There have been three Falakis. The first of these is Abu'l-Fadl 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Falakī of Hamadān (died 429 A.H.),¹ author of the *Muntaha'l-Kamāl fi Ma'rifati'r-Rijāl*,² a work on the titles of traditionists, mentioned as one of the sources of al-'Asqalānī's *Nuzhatu'l-Albāb fi'l-Alqāb*.³ The second Falakī is Falakī-i-Širwānī, the panegyrist of the Širwānshāh Minūchihīr II, whilst the third Falakī is a Persian poet of the eighth century A.H., whom I accidentally discovered in an anthology in the British Museum.

On f. 278b of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110 there appears the following *mustazād* with the title “Mawlāna Mūsā Falakī in reply to Mawlāna Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-Ḥusām”:

مولانا موسی فلکی در جواب مولانا جمال الدین ابن حسام	A
آن کیست که بر مرکب حسنست سوارا	
تازنده چو شاهی	
کو کرده کلاهی	
وز خیل کی پرسند	C
چشمش بنگاهی	
بر عارض تو خط	
با جرم سیاهی	
خورشید بر افلال	
از دود[ه] آهي	
في الحال دو مردم	D
از دیده گواهی	
ای خسرو خوبان	B
در حضرت شاهی	
نژدیک شدن چون نگذارند گدا را	

¹ Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur, p. 798, London (1838-71).

² *Kashfū'l-zunān* of Ḥāfi Khalīfah, ed. G. Fluegel, p. 180, vol. vi, London (1850).

³ *Nuzhatu'l-Albāb fi'l-Alqāb*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7351, f. 1b.

The author of Or. 4110 is unknown, but on f. 222b–227a of this MS. is a *muwashshah* dated 803 A.H. (f. 227b) and addressed by Malik 'Azīzullāh to the king *Mubārak Shāh* described as the reigning sovereign خلد ملکه. As *Mubārak Shāh* succeeded to the throne of *Jawnpūr* in 803 A.H. and died the following year, Rieu concludes that Or. 4110 was completed 803–04 A.H.¹

Proceeding now to *Ibn-i-Husām* there have been three poets of this name. One of these is the author of the *Khāwar-nāmah*, composed in 830 A.H.² *Dawlatshāh* calls him *Muhammad Husāmu'd-Dīn* known as *Ibn-i-Husām*, died 875 A.H.³; the *Bankipore Catalogue* gives his name as *Shamsu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Husām*⁴; whilst in the prologue and epilogue of his own *Khāwar-nāmah* *Ibn-i-Husām* calls himself merely *Ibn-i-Husām*.⁵

The second *Ibn-i-Husām* is known from a poem cited in the rare *Mūnisu'l-Āhrār fī Daqā'iql-Ash'ār* of *Muhammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī*, compiled in 741 A.H.⁶ The poet's name is given as *Jalālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Husām* of *Sarakhs*, and as he is spoken of as dead—نور الله قبره — he must have died before 741 A.H.

The third *Ibn-i-Husām*, overlooked by Rieu, Ethé, 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, and Prof. Browne (in his index of *Dawlatshāh*), is, according to *Muhammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī*, *Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Husām* of *Hamadān*, or, according to *Dawlatshāh*, *Muhammad ibn-i-Husām* of *Khawāf*, died 737 A.H.⁷ This *Ibn-i-Husām* is the author of a graceful *mustazzād*, whereof eleven stanzas are cited by *Muhammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī* and seven by *Dawlatshāh*, inclusive of the following⁸:

¹ *Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Br. Mus.*, p. 232.

² *Khāwar-nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,766, f. 360b :

شاد این نامه تازیان پارسی
نهادم بدانگه که کردم تمام
چو بر سال هشصد یفزو د سی
مر این نامه را خاوران نامه نام

³ *Dawlatshāh*, Browne's ed., p. 438.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 30, Calcutta (1910).

⁵ *Khāwar-nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,766, f. 5b :

گر این حسام از گنه پال نیست
چو لطف تو با وی بود پال نیست
نمیرد دل پال این حسام
که زندست [ا] و را بدین نام

⁶ MS. belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian of New York :

در هفصد و چل بود و یک اندر رمضان
مهر اندر حوت و ماه اندر سلطان
بر دست محمد بن بدر شاعر
مجموعه تمام شد بفضل بزدان

⁷ *Dawlatshāh*, Browne's ed., p. 226. *Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Husām* must have flourished before 741 A.H., for he is cited in the *Mūnisu'l-Āhrār* compiled in 741 A.H.

⁸ *Dawlatshāh*, Browne's ed., p. 226.

در حضرت شاهی	A آن کیست که تقیب کند حال گدا را
جز ناله و آهي	از غلغل ببل چه خبر باد صبا را
نومید نیم هم	B هر چند نیم در خور درگاه سلاطین
گاهی بنگاهی	کز روی ترّح بنوازند گدا را
بر روی تو گیسو	بر خرمن گل مار سیه خفته کدامست؟
هندوی سیاهی	حیفست که هم خواه بود ترک خطرا را
آن ابن حسام است	D بر شعر من و حسن تو گر بینه خواهند
حاجت گواهی	بر معجز موسی نبود دست [و] عصا را

The stanzas A, B, C, D of this *mustazād* seem to have inspired the stanzas A, B, C, D of the *mustazād* previously cited. Further, the name *Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām* given by Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī agrees with the name *Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām* given by the anthologist of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110. Consequently, Mūsā Falakī has imitated, and was, therefore, contemporary with or posterior to that *Ibn-i-Ḥusām*, who died in 737 A.H. Mūsā Falakī, however, could not have been born after 780 A.H., for he is quoted in an anthology—Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110—compiled in 803–04 A.H. In all probability, therefore, Mūsā Falakī belonged to the eighth century of the *Hijra*.

Falakī-i-Shirwānī

The Falakī *par excellence*, Falakī-i-Shirwānī, was, with *Abū'l-'Alā* and *Khāqānī*, a court-panegyrist of the *Shirwānshāh*, *Minūchihr II*. *Taqiū'd-Dīn Kāshī* writes in 985 A.H., without mentioning his authority, that Falakī died in 577 A.H.¹ Similarly, the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārikh*² (1019 A.H.), the anthology of Leningrad,³ *Yad-i-Baydā*⁴ (1148 A.H.), *Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat*⁵ (1149 A.H.), *Ātashkada*⁶ (1193 A.H.), *Šuhuf-i-İbrāhīm*⁷ (1205 A.H.), and *Nishtar-i-'Ishq*⁸ (1233 A.H.), with Rāmī's chronogram cited therein :

¹ *Khulāsatu'l-As̄hār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b.

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335b.

³ Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a.

⁴ Bankipore MS. No. 691, f. 174a.

⁵ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1268, f. 29a.

⁶ Bankipore MS. No. 716.

⁷ India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.

⁸ Berlin MS., Pertsch No. 663, f. 261a.

آن شه مُلکِ بِلاغت از قضا
جان بجان^۱ (sic) آفرین چون در سپرد
گفت رامی سالِ تاریخش چنین و چه سازم یا نجم الدین بمرد

When, ordained by fate, that king of the domain of eloquence handed
over his life to the Creator of Lives,

Rāmī thus expressed the date of the event : What shall I say ? *Alas !*
Najmu'd-Dīn (Falakī) *is dead.*

—all of these give 577 A.H. as the date of Falakī's death, a date accepted
provisionally by Dorn,² Sprenger,³ Aumer,⁴ Salemann,⁵ Pertsch,⁶
and Ethé.⁷

This date, however, is untenable. For, of the 1,197 couplets of Falakī,
representing his present *dīwān*, nearly all are in honour of Minūchihr II,
who is described as the reigning sovereign : there is no threnody on
Minūchihr II nor is there any mention of the name of Akhsatān, the son and
successor of Minūchihr II. Finally, though Minūchihr II is described as
the son of Faridūn I, there are no odes in honour of Faridūn I himself,
who died in 514 A.H. The obvious inference is that Falakī was too young
at the time of Faridūn's death in 514 A.H., and that Falakī did not survive
Minūchihr II, who died about 544 A.H. Falakī, therefore, could not have
enjoyed a long life—a fact expressly stated by Khāqānī in his elegy on
the death of Falakī⁸ :

عطسه سحرِ حللِ من فلکی بود
بود بده فن ز رازِ نه فلک آگاه
زود فرو شد که عطسه دیر نماد
اه که کم عمر بود عطسه من آه
جاشن یکی عطسه داد [و] جسم پرداخت
هم ملک الموت گفت یرحم الله

¹ Probably جانان.

² B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte, etc., I Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, p. 552, St. Petersburg (1841).

³ A. Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 392, Calcutta (1854).

⁴ J. Aumer, *Die Persischen Handschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, p. 8, Munich (1866).

⁵ C. Salemann, *Chetnerostishia Khāqānī*, n. 7, p. 15, St. Petersburg, 1875.

⁶ W. Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 708, Berlin (1888).

⁷ H. Ethé, *Index to the India Office MSS.*, col. 952.

⁸ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 234b ; Add. 25,808, f. 308a ; Add. 16,773, f. 301b ; India Office MSS. No. 1264, f. 240a ; No. 1787, f. 338a ; and Paris MS., *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Suppl. Persan No. 623, f. 319b-320a. The text of the Lucknow ed., p. 879, is rather corrupt.

Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry) ; and because of his proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens.

He went off quickly, because a sneeze does not last long ; alas ! alas ! my sneeze was young (lit. of small age).

His life gave a sneeze and abandoned the body ; and the angel of death said to him : “ God will have mercy on thee.”

We may now proceed to determine the dates of composition of the following two odes containing the *takhallus* of Falakī :

A ¹

روزِ طربِ رخ نمود روزه پایان رسید رایتِ سلطانِ عید بر سرِ میدان رسید
 دیده ابر آب ریخت چهره آبان بشست تابِ مهِ آب رفت تری آبان رسید
 چون فلکی در جفا با فلکی طرفه نیست گرفکی را ز درد بر فلک افغان رسید

The day of joy has shown its face ; the Fast has come to an end. The flag of the Sultān of 'Id has appeared on the field.

The eyes of the cloud poured water and washed the faces of pools ; the heat of the month of Āb has gone, and the humidity of the month of Ābān has come.

Thou (O beloved) art, like heaven, tyrannical towards Falakī ; no wonder, then, that Falakī's cry of pain should have reached heaven.

B ²

رایتِ عید شد عیانِ موکبِ روزه شد نهان
 سنتِ عید فرضِ دان فرضِ صیامِ نافله
 گرچه بصحنِ گلستان از پیِ نزهتِ روان
 نیست صفیرِ بلبلان هست صفیرِ بلبله
 عید و خزان و مهرگان هر سه شدند همقران
 گشت میانِ هر سه شان بندگی تو واصله

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 83, 94, and 119.

² *Idem*, couplets 577-80, 591.

هر سه بشکل صوفیان خرقه نهاده در میان
پیش توئی بکن بیان مشکل این مشاکله

مشعله بر فروختی رخت فلک بسوختی
بر فلکی فروختی شهر بشور و مشغله

The flag of 'Id has appeared and the cavalcade of the Fast has departed ; consider the observance of the 'Id as obligatory and of the Fast as voluntary.

Although, for gladdening the soul, there is no singing of nightingales in the garden's expanse (it does not matter), for there is the gurgling of the wine-bottle.

'Id and autumn and Mihrgān—the three have synchronized ; and fealty to thee, (O king), is the connecting link between them.

These three, like Sūfis, have placed their woollen garbs in the middle ; thou art the spiritual guide ; explain, then, the difficulty of this congruity.

Thou (O beloved) hast enkindled a torch and burnt the fabric of heaven ; thou hast raised up the city against Falakī by insurrection and tumult.

The ode, A, was written when the 1st of Shawwāl had fallen in Ābān ; the ode, B, when autumn and the 1st of Shawwāl had synchronized with the festival of Mihrgān. Now as Ābān is a Zoroastrian month, and as Mihrgān lasts from the 16th to the 21st day of the month Mihr of the Zoroastrian calendar,¹ it is obvious that both odes can be dated by expressing 1st Shawwāl of the Hijra firstly, in terms of the era of Yazdigird, and secondly, in terms of the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn.

The best work for this purpose is R. Schram's *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), containing (i) the Julian calendar (calculated to 2399 A.D.), pp. 2-99 ; (ii) the Gregorian calendar (calculated from 1582 A.D. to 2399 A.D.), pp. 67-99 ; (iii) the Alexandrian calendar, pp. 108-57 ; (iv) the Republican calendar, pp. 160-71 ; (v) the calendar of Jalālu'd-Dīn, pp. 163-71 ; (vi) the calendar of Yazdigird (calculated from 1 A.Y. to 1799 A.Y.), pp. 174-81² ; (vii) the Egyptian calendar, pp. 183-9 ; (viii) the Jewish calendar, pp. 191-235 ; (ix) the

¹ Al-Birūni's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, p. 207.

² On pp. 174, 176, 178, and 180 the upper figures belong to the era of Yazdigird, and the lower figures, to the Armenian era.

Japanese and Chinese calendars, pp. 243–80; (x) the calendar of the Hijra (calculated till 1800 A.H.), pp. 248–319; and finally (xi) the Indian (?) calendar, pp. 322–55. Schram has proceeded methodically by allotting “day-numbers”: for example, Shawwāl 1st, 1346 A.H., corresponds to the day-number 2425,328 (p. 310). Now, turning to the era of Yazdigird we find the day-number 2425,312 equivalent to Ābān 1st, 1297 A.Y. (pp. 176–7). Therefore, the day-number 2425,328 = Ābān 17th, 1297 A.Y.—the correspondence being:

1st Shawwāl, 1346 A.H. = 2425,328 (day-number) = 17th Ābān, 1297 A.Y.

As the current calendar of the Persian government, published by Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn, states that the 1st of Shawwāl, 1346 A.H., corresponds with the 17th of Ābān, 1297 A.Y., there can be no question of the accuracy of Schram's calculations. I have, therefore, prepared the following calendar from Schram's day-numbers, the basis being the era of Yazdigird.

Schram, pp. 294–5.

Idem, pp. 176–9.

Idem, pp. 56–7.

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.Y.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
500	2125,534	8 <u>Tir</u>	476	26 May	1107
501	2125,888	27 <u>Khurdād</u>	477	14 May	1108
502	2126,243	17 <u>Khurdād</u>	478	4 May	1109
503	2126,597	6 <u>Khurdād</u>	479	23 April	1110
504	2126,951	25 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	480	12 April	1111
505	2127,306	15 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	481	1 April	1112
506	2127,660	4 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	482	21 March	1113
507	2128,015	24 <u>Farwardin</u>	483	11 March	1114
508	2128,369	13 <u>Farwardin</u>	484	28 February	1115
509	2128,723	2 <u>Farwardin</u>	485	17 February	1116
510	2129,078	22 <u>Isfandārmadh</u>	485	6 February	1117
511	2129,432	11 <u>Isfandārmadh</u>	486	26 January	1118
512	2129,786	30 <u>Bahman</u>	487	15 January	1119
513	2130,141	20 <u>Bahman</u>	488	5 January	1120
514	2130,495	9 <u>Bahman</u>	489	24 December	1120
515	2130,849	28 <u>Dey</u>	490	13 December	1121
516	2131,204	18 <u>Dey</u>	491	3 December	1122
517	2131,558	7 <u>Dey</u>	492	22 November	1123
518	2131,913	27 <u>Ādhar</u>	493	11 November	1124
519	2132,267	16 <u>Ādhar</u>	494	31 October	1125
520	2132,621	5 <u>Ādhar</u>	495	20 October	1126
521	2132,976	30 <u>Ābān</u>	496	10 October	1127
522	2133,330	19 <u>Ābān</u>	497	28 September	1128
523	2133,684	8 <u>Ābān</u>	498	17 September	1129
524	2134,039	28 <u>Mihr</u>	499	7 September	1130
525	2134,393	17 <u>Mihr</u>	500	27 August	1131
526	2134,747	6 <u>Mihr</u>	501	15 August	1132
527	2135,102	26 <u>Shahriwar</u>	502	5 August	1133
528	2135,456	15 <u>Shahriwar</u>	503	25 July	1134
529	2135,811	5 <u>Shahriwar</u>	504	15 July	1135

Schram, pp. 294-5.

Idem, pp. 176-9.

Idem, pp. 56-7.

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.Y.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
530	2136,165	24 Murdād	505	3 July	1136
531	2136,519	13 Murdād	506	22 June	1137
532	2136,874	3 Murdād	507	12 June	1138
533	2137,228	22 Tir	508	1 June	1139
534	2137,582	11 Tir	509	20 May	1140
535	2137,937	1 Tir	510	10 May	1141
536	2138,291	20 Khurdād	511	29 April	1142
537	2138,646	10 Khurdād	512	19 April	1143
538	2139,000	29 Ardibihīght	513	7 April	1144
539	2139,354	18 Ardibihīght	514	27 March	1145
540	2139,709	8 Ardibihīght	515	17 March	1146
541	2140,063	27 Farwardīn	516	6 March	1147
542	2140,417	16 Farwardīn	517	23 February	1148
543	2140,772	6 Farwardīn	518	12 February	1149
544	2141,126	25 Isfandārmad̫	518	1 February	1150
545	2141,480	14 Isfandārmad̫	519	21 January	1151
546	2141,835	4 Isfandārmad̫	520	11 January	1152
547	2142,189	23 Bahman	521	30 December	1152
548	2142,544	13 Bahman	522	20 December	1153
549	2142,898	2 Bahman	523	9 December	1154
550	2143,252	21 Dey	524	28 November	1155
551	2143,607	11 Dey	525	17 November	1156
552	2143,961	30 Ādhar	526	6 November	1157
553	2144,315	19 Ādhar	527	26 October	1158
554	2144,670	9 Ādhar	528	16 October	1159
555	2145,024	3rd day of inter- calation	529	4 October	1160
556	2145,378	22 Ābān	530	23 September	1161
557	2145,733	12 Ābān	531	13 September	1162
558	2146,087	1 Ābān	532	2 September	1163
559	2146,442	21 Mīhr	533	22 August	1164
560	2146,796	10 Mīhr	534	11 August	1165
561	2147,150	29 Shāhrīwar	535	31 July	1166
562	2147,505	19 Shāhrīwar	536	21 July	1167
563	2147,859	8 Shāhrīwar	537	9 July	1168
564	2148,213	27 Murdād	538	28 June	1169

It will be noticed that ode A, written when the 1st of Shawwāl had fallen early in Ābān, could not have been composed except in 523 A.H. :

523 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 498 A.Y. (8th Ābān) = 1129 A.D. (17th September).

or 557-8 A.H. :

557 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 531 A.Y. (12th Ābān) = 1162 A.D. (13th September).

558 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 532 A.Y. (1st Ābān) = 1163 A.D. (2nd September).

The latter dates are undoubtedly too late, for Falakī predeceased

Minūchihir II, who died about 544 A.H.¹ Consequently, ode A was composed in 523 A.H.

Similarly, ode B, written when the 1st of Shawwāl, the 16th–21st of Mihr, and the season of autumn had synchronized, could not have been composed except in 525 A.H. :

525 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 500 A.Y. (17th Mihr) = 1131 A.D.
(27th August).

or 559 A.H. :

559 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 533 A.Y. (21st Mihr) = 1164 A.D.
(22nd August).

The latter date is again too late ; therefore, ode B was composed in 525 A.H. when the 1st of Shawwāl corresponded with the 17th of Mihr and the 27th of August.²

Dates of Falakī's Odes calculated from the Era of Jalālu'd-Dīn

Since in the sixth century A.H. there existed two calendars of Zoroastrian months—namely, the old era of Yazdigird beginning with the accession of Yazdigird to the throne of Persia on 16th June, 632 A.D., and the reformed era of Jalālu'd-Dīn dating from the vernal equinox, 15th March, 1079 A.D.—the coincidence of the Ramaḍān 'Īd with the beginning of Ābān, mentioned by Falakī in ode A, and the synchronism of the Ramaḍān 'Īd with autumn and the festival of Mihrgān (16th–21st of Mihr), mentioned by Falakī in ode B, are capable of being interpreted in terms of either the old or the reformed calendar. To allow, therefore, for both alternatives, another table is here set forth, on the basis of the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn.

¹ Faridūn I died in 514 A.H. (*Georgian Chronicle* tr. Brosset, p. 364), and Minūchihir II, son of Faridūn I, reigned thirty years (*Khāqāni*, Lucknow ed., p. 549). Therefore, Minūchihir II reigned 514–44 A.H. The numismatic evidence is imperfect : Faridūn I—no coins ; Minūchihir II—contemporary with al-Muqtāfi (530–55 A.H.) ; Akhsatān I—contemporary with al-Muqtāfi (555–66 A.H.).

² In the twelfth century A.D., the dates of the Julian calendar (which lasted from 1st January, 46 B.C., to 5th October, 1582 A.D., and which supposes the year too long by 11 minutes 14 seconds) would be six or seven days behind the actual dates. Consequently, the correct date is 27th August + 6 or 7 days = 2nd or 3rd September. This is not too early for autumn, especially as the statement "autumn has come" does not necessarily mean that autumn has commenced according to astronomy. For example, the first week of December is ordinarily considered to be winter, whereas, astronomically, winter does not commence till the 21st or 22nd of December.

Schram, pp. 294-5.

*Idem, pp. 164-5
(lower figures).**Idem, pp. 56-7.*

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.J.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
500	2125,534	13 Khurdād	29	26 May	1107
501	2125,888	2 Khurdād	30	14 May	1108
502	2126,243	22 Ardibihisht	31	4 May	1109
503	2126,597	11 Ardibihisht	32	23 April	1110
504	2126,951	29 Farwardīn	33	12 April	1111
505	2127,306	19 Farwardīn	34	1 April	1112
506	2127,660	8 Farwardīn	35	21 March	1113
507	2128,015	3rd day of inter- calation	35	11 March	1114
508	2128,369	22 Isfandārmadh	36	28 February	1115
509	2128,723	10 Isfandārmadh	37	17 February	1116
510	2129,078	30 Bahman	38	6 February	1117
511	2129,432	19 Bahman	39	26 January	1118
512	2129,786	8 Bahman	40	15 January	1119
513	2130,141	27 Dey	41	5 January	1120
514	2130,495	16 Dey	42	24 December	1120
515	2130,849	5 Dey	43	13 December	1121
516	2131,204	25 Ādhar	44	3 December	1122
517	2131,558	13 Ādhar	45	22 November	1123
518	2131,913	3 Ādhar	46	11 November	1124
519	2132,267	22 Ābān	47	31 October	1125
520	2132,621	11 Ābān	48	20 October	1126
521	2132,976	1 Ābān	49	10 October	1127
522	2133,330	19 Mihr	50	28 September	1128
523	2133,684	8 Mihr	51	17 September	1129
524	2134,039	28 Shahriwar	52	7 September	1130
525	2134,393	17 Shahriwar	53	27 August	1131
526	2134,747	5 Shahriwar	54	15 August	1132
527	2135,102	25 Murdād	55	5 August	1133
528	2135,456	14 Murdād	56	25 July	1134
529	2135,811	4 Murdād	57	15 July	1135
530	2136,165	22 Tir	58	3 July	1136
531	2136,519	11 Tir	59	22 June	1137
532	2136,874	1 Tir	60	12 June	1138
533	2137,228	20 Khurdād	61	1 June	1139
534	2137,582	8 Khurdād	62	20 May	1140
535	2137,937	28 Ardibihisht	63	10 May	1141
536	2138,291	17 Ardibihisht	64	29 April	1142
537	2138,646	7 Ardibihisht	65	19 April	1143
538	2139,000	25 Farwardīn	66	7 April	1144
539	2139,354	14 Farwardīn	67	27 March	1145
540	2139,709	4 Farwardīn	68	17 March	1146
541	2140,063	28 Isfandārmadh	68	6 March	1147
542	2140,417	17 Isfandārmadh	69	23 February	1148
543	2140,772	6 Isfandārmadh	70	12 February	1149
544	2141,126	25 Bahman	71	1 February	1150
545	2141,480	14 Bahman	72	21 January	1151
546	2141,835	4 Bahman	73	11 January	1152
547	2142,189	22 Dey	74	30 December	1152
548	2142,544	12 Dey	75	20 December	1153
549	2142,898	1 Dey	76	9 December	1154
550	2143,252	20 Ādhar	77	28 November	1155
551	2143,607	9 Ādhar	78	17 November	1156
552	2143,961	28 Ābān	79	6 November	1157
553	2144,315	17 Ābān	80	26 October	1158

Schram, pp. 294-5.		<i>Idem</i> , pp. 104-5 (lower figures).		<i>Idem</i> , pp. 56-7.	
A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.J.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
554	2144,670	7 Ābān	81	16 October	1159
555	2145,024	26 Mīhr	82	4 October	1160
556	2145,378	14 Mīhr	83	23 September	1161
557	2145,733	4 Mīhr	84	13 September	1162
558	2146,087	23 Shāhriwār	85	2 September	1163
559	2146,442	13 Shāhriwār	86	22 August	1164
560	2146,796	1 Shāhriwār	87	11 August	1165
561	2147,150	20 Mūrdað	88	31 July	1166
562	2147,505	10 Mūrdað	89	21 July	1167
563	2147,859	29 Tīr	90	9 July	1168
564	2148,213	17 Tīr	91	28 June	1169

It will be noticed that the two possible dates for the composition of ode A (when 1st Shawwāl had fallen early in Ābān) are :—

521 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 49 A.J. (1st Ābān) = 1127 A.D.
(10th October),

or

554 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 81 A.J. (7th Ābān) = 1159 A.D.
(16th October).

Now, as Falakī predeceased Minūchihīr II, who died c. 544 A.H., ode A could not have been composed except in 521 A.H.

Proceeding now to ode B (when 1st Shawwāl had synchronized with autumn and with the festival of Mihrgān, i.e. 16th-21st of Mīhr), it will be noticed that as the years 555-557 A.H., apart from being too late for Falakī, show no actual synchronism of the 'Id of Ramaðān with the festival of Mihrgān, ode B could only have been composed in 522 A.H. :

522 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 50 A.J. (19th Mīhr) = 1128 A.D.
(28th September).

To sum up, therefore, the general result. On the basis of the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn, ode A was composed in 521 A.H. (1st Shawwāl = 1st Ābān), and ode B, in 522 A.H. (1st Shawwāl = 19th Mīhr = 28th September)—the alternative dates, obtained from the era of Yazdigird, being 523 A.H. for ode A (1st Shawwāl = 8th Ābān), and 525 A.H. for ode B (1st Shawwāl = 17th Mīhr = 27th August). As the difference in the years is small (521 A.H. against 523 A.H. for ode A, and 522 A.H. against 525 A.H. for ode B), and as the reformed calendar discloses better than the ancient calendar both the synchronism with Ābān mentioned in ode A (1st Shawwāl = 1st Ābān against 1st Shawwāl = 8th Ābān) and the

synchronism with autumn mentioned in ode B (1st Shawwāl = 19th Mihr = 28th *September* against 1st Shawwāl = 17th Mihr = 27th *August*), the dates 521 A.H. and 522 A.H. obtained from the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn should be preferred to the dates 523 A.H. and 525 A.H. deduced from the era of Yazdigird.¹

These dates complete the argument. For as Falakī could not have been less than twenty years of age when he composed ode A, he must have been born *in or before* 501–503 A.H. On the other hand, the premature death of Falakī, recorded by Khāqānī, could not have taken place in the early years of Minūchihīr's reign, for Falakī has a whole *dīwān* in honour of Minūchihīr II. Consequently, though the dates of Falakī's birth and death cannot be determined with accuracy, it is obvious that they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the years 501 A.H. and 540 A.H., respectively.

The Life of Falakī-i-Shirwānī

Called Abū'l-Nīzām Jalālu'd-Dīn,² or Afṣāḥu'd-Dīn,³ or Najmu'd-Dīn,⁴ or even Mu'ayyidu'd-Dīn Uthmān⁵ by different *tadhkirahs*, Falakī gives his own name merely as Muhammad Falakī⁶:

ای فلکی زان دو لبشن بوسئ جوی تو باری زچه غم میخوری
بنده محمد بعیدیت شہا گوئی سخن بُرد بشعرِ دری

O Falakī, take a kiss of those two lips ; whyever shouldst thou fret ?

By (reciting) thy praise, O king, thy servant, Muhammad, has carried off, with his Persian verse, the ball of poetry.

Shaykh Ādhari states in his *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār*, composed in 840 A.H., that Khāqānī was a pupil of Falakī.⁷ This statement is repeated, without

¹ It is almost certain that Falakī observed the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn ; see note to couplet 242 of the Persian text.

² *Khulāṣatu'l-Aṣḥār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār* (985 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500a ; *Ahsanu't-Tawārikh*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a ; and *Sukuf-i-Ibrāhīm*, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 260b.

³ *Haft Iqlim* (1002 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 49, f. 472b.

⁴ *'Urafātu'l-'Āṣiqīn* (1024 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 992b ; *Khulāṣatu'l-Afkār*, India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 220a ; *Riyādu'sh-Shu'arā*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,729, f. 335a ; *Niṣṭar-i-Ishq*, Bankipore MS. No. 716 ; and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣalā*, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, p. 381.

⁵ *Subh-i-Sādiq* (c. 1045 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1728, f. 58a ; and *Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat*, India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.

⁶ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 764 and 786.

⁷ *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7607, f. 183b : خاقانی شاگرد فلکی شروانیست :

acknowledgment, in the *Nafahātu'l- Uns* of Jāmī,¹ composed in 883 A.H. Shaykh Ādharī does not mention his authority, but in the '*Urafātu'l-Āshiqīn*' of Taqī Awḥadī, written in 1024 A.H., the following couplet is quoted from Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikatī's literary duel with Khāqānī²:

ز آخر فلکی تو سی برون ناید که طوق نعلش نه حلقه دهان منست

From the stable of Falakī no horse comes forth, the circle of whose shoe is not (impressed on) the circle of my mouth, i.e. does not leave a kick on mouth.

In the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā* of Rīdā Qulī Khān, 1295 A.H., the couplet reappears as follows³:

ز آخر فلکی تو سی برون آمد که طوق نعلش بر حلقه دهان منست

From the stable of Falakī a horse came forth, the circle of whose shoe is on the circle of my mouth.

It is obvious, however, from Khāqānī's own statement⁴

عطسه سحر حلال من فلکی بود بود بده فن ز راز نه فلک آگاه

Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry), and because of his proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens.

that Falakī was a protégé rather than the tutor of Khāqānī. Further the text of Khāqānī's challenge and of Athīru'd-Dīn's reply does not permit the interpretation of فلکی as a proper noun. Wrote Khāqānī to Athīru'd-Dīn:

خرد خریطه کش خاطر و بیان منست	سخن جنیه بر خامه و بنان منست
بدان خدای ک دور زمین پدید آورد	ک دور دور منست و زمان زمان منست
ز راز خایی هر ابلهی ترسم از آنک	هنوز در عدمست آنک همفران منست
بشرق و غرب رسدنامه ضمیرم از آنک	
کبوتر فلکی [ملکی] ⁵ [variant] پیک رایگان منست	

¹ *Nafahātu'l- Uns*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,717, f. 281a.

² '*Urafātu'l-Āshiqīn*, India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 68a, under Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikatī, and f. 993a under Falakī.

³ *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā*, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, p. 381.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁵ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Paris MS. Suppl. Persan No. 1816, f. 175b.

⁶ *Idem*, Lucknow ed., pp. 937-38; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,018, f. 41a.

Intelligence carries the letter-bag of my mind and expressions ; speech leads the (post-)horse of my pen and fingers.

By the God who created the Cycle of Time, I swear that the Cycle is my cycle and the Time is my time.

I do not fear every foolish prattler for he, who is my compeer, is yet to be born.

The writings of my mind reach the East and the West, because the pigeon of the *sky* (or variant, *king*) is my free messenger.

Thereupon Athīru'd-Dīn retorted¹ :

گه گشای سخن خامه توان منست خزینه دار خرد خاطر روان منست
 نه من قرین وجودم سفه بود گفتن هنوز در عدمست آنکه همقران منست
 زمان زمان سخن گستیر خرد بخش است حال باشد گفتن زمان زمان منست
 زآخر فلکی [ملکی]² [variant] توسي برون نايد
 که طوق نعلش نی [بی]³ [variant] حلقة دهان منست

My powerful pen unravels the intricacies of speech ; my active mind is the treasurer of intelligence.

Am I not alive ? It is foolish, then, to say : “ He who is my compeer is yet to be born.”

The Time is the time of the person who is eloquent and intelligent ; it is wrong to say : “ The Time is my time.”

From the stable of the *sky* (or variant, *king*) no horse comes forth, the circle of whose shoe is devoid of (or variant, not impressed by) the circle of my mouth.

It will be observed that Athīru'd-Dīn meets Khāqānī's challenge, point by point ; consequently, when Khāqānī boasts : “ The pigeon of the *sky*, i.e. the sun, is my free messenger,” Athīru'd-Dīn replies : “ Yes, and the constellation of the Horse,³ from the stable of the *sky*, is shod by my mouth-seal”—or, if the other reading be adopted, when Khāqānī

¹ *Diwān-i-Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikati*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 268, f. 180a-b ; India Office MS. No. 132, f. 34a.

² This is the text of the Br. Mus. and India Office MSS. of Athīru'd-Dīn's *diwān*, but the correct reading is, obviously, فلکی.

³ There are two constellations of this name, the 18th Northern constellation or مَلْعَلَةُ الْفَرَسِ and the 19th Northern constellation or رَاسُ الْفَرَسِ. فَرَسٌ اعْظَمٌ. See *Bist Bāb*, Tīhrān ed., p. 60, 1271 A.H.

says: "The royal pigeons carry my verses," Athiru'd-Din answers: "Yes, and the royal horses carry mine." In neither case, therefore, need a horse issue forth from the stable of Falaki to leave a kick on Athiru'd-Din's mouth.

The uncertain relations between Khāqānī and Falaki are given a picturesque form by Dawlatshāh and other biographers, who make both Khāqānī and Falaki the pupils of Abū'l-'Alā. Eventually, Khāqānī is married to Abū'l-'Alā's daughter, whilst the disappointed Falaki is compensated by a gift of 20,000 dirhems¹—"the price," as Abū'l-'Alā remarked, "of fifty Turkish handmaidens infinitely more beautiful" than Khāqānī's bride. The first half of this story, relating to Khāqānī, is corroborated by the verses ascribed to Abū'l-'Alā,² but Falaki's rôle in this narrative is unconfirmed by contemporary evidence.³

The *minutiae* of Falaki's life, obtainable from his own *dīwān* or Khāqānī's, are scanty. Falaki was born in Shirwān⁴:

زین دیارم نژاد بود ولیک هیچ یار اندرين دیارم ینست

In this land was I born, but friends in this land have I none.

became a protégé of Khāqānī's⁵; got married; lost his wife and other relatives, and was left with an infant daughter⁶:

¹ Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 70. According to the *Universal Biography of Persian Poets* (India Office MS. No. 2415, f. 20a), Falaki received 40,000 dirhems.

² Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., pp. 70-71:

تو ای افضل الدین اگر راست یرسی بجان عزیزت که از تو نه شادم

بجای تو بسیار کردم نکوئی ترا دختر و مال و شهرت بدادم

The same text is given also by *Haft Iqlīm* (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 398a). The *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah*, Browne's ed., p. 827, gives a different reading:

چورغت نسودی بشاگردی من ترا نعمت و مال و بس چیز دادم

³ Abū'l-'Alā could not have presented Falaki with 20,000 dirhems, for in a quatrain ascribed to Abū'l-'Alā by Taqī Awhādi (India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 41a), Abū'l-'Alā calls himself a borrower, reduced by love of wine to poverty:

سه چیز عیب ندارید خواستن ز کرام یکی کتاب و دویم باده و سه دیگر و ام
کتاب و وام بسی خواستیم و خواهم نیز ز بهر باده خاست این گدائی خام

⁴ The name of Shirwān is not expressly mentioned, but as this is a prison-poem and as Falaki was sentenced to prison by the Shirwānshāh Minūghīhr II, the land of imprisonment must obviously be Shirwān. Now, as Falaki declares that the land of his imprisonment is the land of his birth, he must, consequently, have been born in Shirwān.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁶ *Dīwān-i-Falaki*, couplet 844.

کر نر و ماده جز من و طفلي هیچکس زنده در تبارم نیست

Of the males and females of my family none is alive save myself and a baby (respectively).

Falakī speaks of his skill in poetry and calligraphy¹:

چه زاري اي فلكي زين نوائب ايتام
که در سخن سیوم بو عام و نواسي
مگر که مائه رو حند شعر و خط تو زاند
بهر دو نجی کلک و دوات و قرطاسي

Because of the adversities of these times why dost thou lament, O Falakī, for in verse thou art the third to Abū Tammām² and Abū Nuwās³?

Thy verse and script are the essence of the soul, for by these two thou hast revived pen, paper, and ink.

and Khāqānī adds that Falakī was an astrologer, “proficient in ten sciences⁴ and acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens”⁵:

عطسه سحر حلال من فلكي بود بود بده فن ز راز نه فلك آگاه

Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry), and because of his proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens.

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 744–45. Of special interest in this connection is the following couplet of Falakī:

در امن و عدل و ملک و دین ساکن چو اندر بسم سین
بر لطف و خشم مهر و کین مبني چو هارا لام هل

“In peace and justice rest the country and religion, as (the letter) س (rests) within (the word) بسم [الله]؛ the love and hatred (of the world) is based on his (i.e. the king's) pleasure and displeasure, just as the ل of هل is based on ها.”

A simile of this kind appears far-fetched, but is merely the reflex effect of calligraphy on poetry.

² Abū Tammām Ḥabib b. Aws, author of the *Ḥamāsa*, died in 231 A.H. Scan, here, as Bū Tamām | — — |

³ Abū Nuwās Ḥasan b. Ḥāni', poet and court-jester to the Caliph Hārūn, died between 190 and 199 A.H. Scan, here, as Bū Nuwwās | — — — |

⁴ Five of these are certain, namely: Persian poetry, astrology, calligraphy, knowledge of Arabic (see the couplets 322, 334, 335 and 336 of the present *diwān*) and knowledge of the *Qurān* (see couplets 150, 173, 186, 187, 351, 413, 451, 609, 614, 737, 748 and 931 of the present *diwān*).

⁵ *Supra*, p. 44.

Falaki's interest in astrology has both a prelude and a sequel: it originated, according to Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī, from Falaki's love for an astrologer's son; and it culminated, according to the same authority, in the composition of a work on astrology and in the adoption of the peculiar *takhallus*—Falaki.¹ The prose-work has perished, but the *takhallus* has survived, though, according to Ulugh Beg b. Shāh-rukh (850–53 A.H.), it was an unhappy choice²:

دیوانِ فلکی را نزد پادشاه میور الغ یگ کورکان انارالله برهانه
برندن—مطالعه کرد و پسند فرمود اما گفت عجب تخلص دارد و بتفائل
خوب نیست ،

They showed His late Majesty, Ulugh Beg Kūrkān, the *Diwān-i-Falaki*: he read it with interest but said: “The *takhallus* is peculiar and inauspicious.”

Falaki's contemporary, *Adīb-i-Sābir* (d. after 538 A.H.) uses **فلکی** **FALAKI** in the sense of “Heavenly” or “a Heavenly being”,³ but another contemporary, *Hasan* of *Ghazna* (d. after 545 A.H.),⁴ uses **فلک زده** **FALAKI** in the sense of “oppressed by the heavens” or “ill-starred”, a meaning not found in dictionaries⁵:

فلکی کرد گر دشِ فلکم زمی کرد گر دشِ زمن

The revolution of the heavens has oppressed me; the movement of the times has afflicted me.

¹ *Khulāṣatu'l-Aslār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500b: آورده اند که در اوایل جوانی بعهر جمالی پسر منجی مقتدی گردید و بواسطه مخاطط مشوق بآن علم رغبت پیدا کرد و چنانکه باید آن فن را دانست و کتابی در احکامِ نجوم تصنیف کرد که علایی آن فن بسندیده اند و سبیر تخلص نیز همین است

² *Dawlatshāh*, Browne's ed., p. 104.

³ *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Sābir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 35a :

فلکی گشت بهم ت ملکی گشت جملق ملکش بنده خلق و فلکش تحت قدم

⁴ This is the date of composition of one of his odes.

⁵ *Diwān-i-Hasan-i-Ghazna*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1777, f. 18b.

Whatever his original predilections may have been, Falakī soon renounced astrology for poetry, enrolling himself as a professional panegyrist¹:

کم بود بشاعری عیارم
بنگر که چه بر سخن سوارم
در گفتن مدح به ز پارم
خواهم که بدام خود در ارم
این شیر سخن شود شکارم

زاوّل که سخن بننظم کردم
ز اموزش و از قبولت امسال
هر سال ز فری دولت تو
شیریست سخن که دائم او را
گر دل دهم قبول این شعر

When I first composed verse I had little aptitude for poetry.

By thy instruction and patronage behold how I am handling verse this year.

Each year, by the glory of thy state, I am a better panegyrist than before.

Poetry is a lion I am continually trying to ensnare.

Shouldst thou encourage me by accepting this ode I shall bag this lion of speech.

At court his talents were recognized ; his means improved² :

محنت من ز ملک و مال منست هر دو گر عاقلم بکارم نیست

My trouble is due to my wealth and estates ; neither of these do I need if I am wise.

and there was even the chance of his becoming the poet-laureate³ :

کام وی آست که گویند تو شاعر خاص ملک کشوری

His (Falakī's) ambition is that they should say : "Thou art the premier poet of the king."

But soon this fair prospect was overcast ; Falakī was traduced to the king as lacking in loyalty⁴ :

شها و شهر گشایان نوده اند که بنده ادای بندگی تو گذاشت مهم و مبهم

O king and conqueror of cities, they have alleged that I have neglected paying allegiance to thee.

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 462–66.

² *Idem*, couplet 789.

³ *Idem*, couplet 842.

⁴ *Idem*, couplet 303.

and thrown into the fortress of Shābarān¹:

غرقه در آهنم چو دیوانه گرچه با دیو کارزانم نیست
با دل رنجه و تن رنجور طاقت بند شهربار نیست
هم درین قلعه خانه فرمایم که برین جای اختیارم نیست

Like a demoniac am I encased in iron though I have to fight no demon.²

Sad at heart and ill in body, I have no strength to bear the fetters of the king.

Since I have no independence here (i.e. since I cannot go elsewhere), order a home for me in this fortress.

In an ode written after his release from captivity Falakī states that the imprisonment had nearly killed him, reducing him to a mere skeleton³:

مرده بودم وز همه اعضای من استخوانها بود پیدا همچو لام
لطف شروانشاه جانم باز داد رغم آنکو گفت من یعنی العظام

I was dead and from all my limbs the bones projected like (the letter) *lām*.

In his mercy the Shirwānshāh granted me my life—in spite of Him (Allāh) Who has said: *Who will give life to the bones (when they are rotten)?*⁴

How long Falakī survived his fall is uncertain. He may have succeeded in his efforts to obtain readmission to the royal court⁵:

کی کشم در چشم و کی بوسم بکام خاک در گام شهنشاه انام

When will I use (as collyrium) for my eyes and when will I kiss with my mouth the dust of His Majesty's court?

but it is much more likely that under the strain of his imprisonment Falakī died the premature death recorded by Khāqānī. According to Taqiū'd-Dīn Kāshī, Falakī is buried in his birthplace, Shamākhī, the capital

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 825, 830, 843.

² The words, demoniac and demon, have been used to retain the redundant homonymy of the original—دیوانه and دیو.

³ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 412-13.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, xxxvi, 78.

⁵ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 395.

of Shirwān¹ : there is no evidence, at any rate, that Falakī died anywhere else but in Shirwān.

II

The extant odes of Falakī are as devoid of facts as they abound in rhetorical artifices. Amongst seas, the Caspian Sea, Red Sea, and the Gulf of 'Ummān ; amongst rivers, the Euphrates, Nile, Oxus, and the Tigris ; amongst countries, Arabia, the Canary islands, Cathay, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Kashmīr, Khurāsān, Khutlān (i.e. the mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhshāb and the Oxus), Persia, Rūm, Shirwān, Spain, Syria, Tibet, Turkistān, and 'Ummān ; and amongst places, Badakhshān, Baghdād, Bahrayn, Bāqilān, Bartās (in Turkistān), Chāch, Chigil, Kāshghar, Khallukh, Qayrawān, Samangān,² Shushtar, Sipāhān (Iṣfahān), Somnāth, Taysūn, and Tür Mt. are mentioned. The persons referred to are much more numerous. Of Prophets, Scriptural patriarchs, etc., Adam and Eve, Enoch, Noah, Pharaoh and Hāmān, Amran, Moses and Aaron, Balaam, Korah, Solomon, Elias, Jonah, Jesus Christ and Mary, Khiḍr, Muhammad and Fāṭimah (Zahrā) ; of the old legendary kings of Persia, Hūshang, Jamshīd, Bīvarasp (Dāḥhāk), Farīdūn, Salm, Tūr, Īraj, Ārash (b. Kay Kubād), Kay Khusraw, Gushtāsp, and Isfandiyār ; of legendary warriors, Qāran (b. Kāwah), Narīmān (or Nīram), Sām, Zāl, and Rustam ; of the Greeks, Plato, Luqmān, Katāyūn, Balinās,³ and Alexander ; of the Sāsānians, Bahrām and Nūshirwān ; of the Romans, Heraclius ; of the Indians, Porus ; of the Ethiopians, Bilāl ; of the Arabs, Hātim of Tayyi, Abū Lahab, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Nuwās, and Abū Tammām ; of the kings of Persia, (Sultān) Mahmūd the Ghaznawid (d. 421 A.H.), Malikshāh the Seljūq (d. 485 A.H.), Farīdūn I, and Abū'l-Hayjā Fakhrū'd Dīn Minūchihr II b. Farīdūn ; and of the other Persians, Manes,⁴ Salmān,⁵ (Abū'l-Ḥasan) Gūshyār (b. Labbān), astronomer,

¹ Khulāṣatu'l-As̄'ar wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500-1b :

مولدهش قصبة شماخی . . . و در دارالملک شماخی مدفونست

² "The precise position of Samanqān or Samalqān, which Yāqūt describes as lying to the east of Jājarm in Khurāsān, is uncertain." G. le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 392, Cambridge (1905).

³ i.e. the magician Balinās, companion of Alexander the Great, and husband and pupil of the enchantress Ādhar Humāyūn. See Niẓāmi's *Iskandar-nāma*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 227a and f. 244b.

⁴ Born in 215 or 216 A.D., and put to death between 273 and 276 A.D.

⁵ Died between 32 and 37 A.H.

c. 321–361 A.Y. = 340–382 A.H.¹ Abū ‘Alī (b. Sīnā) (Avicenna), 370–428 A.H., Kārāsī, i.e. Abū'l-Hasan ‘Alī b. Muḥammad b. ‘Alī ‘Imādūd-Dīn Kiā Harāsī, divine, 450–504 A.H., Abū'l-Futūḥ (minstrel of Minūchihīr II), Prince Dhukhratūd-Dīn Farīdūn (b. Minūchihīr II), and the ministers Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Naṣr Maṭlīk Mis'ar b. ‘Abdu'llāh and Aminu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. ‘Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī are mentioned. Finally, there are two proper names, Ja'far and Qādir, which cannot be identified.

It is curious that Falakī should have ignored not merely the earlier poets of Persia but even his colleagues and compatriots, Abū'l-'Alā and Khāqānī. Prof. Browne quotes from Dawlatshāh²:

“ Men of letters and poets of distinction have a high opinion of Mas'ūd (i-Sa'd-i-Salmān)'s verse, so that Falakī (of Shirwān), while lauding his own genius, thus alludes to Mas'ūd's poetry:—

‘ Had Mas'ūd such cunning in verse as is mine, from the Land of the Dead,

Sa'd-i-Salmān, his father, would come and blessings invoke on his head.’ ”

This isolated couplet,

گر این طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
جهان صد آفرین کردي روان سعد سلامش

given also by the *Khayru'l-Bayān*³ (1019 A.H.), proved rather troublesome, for I was anxious to trace the ode because of its autobiographical information. Failing to find it in the *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, I consulted Mirza Muḥammad Khān's monograph on Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān⁴ to find if Dawlatshāh's couplet could be traced in the *dīwāns* of those poets who, according to Mirza Muḥammad Khān, have praised Mas'ūd's poetry. The result was negative; and, to make the matter

¹ This equation is based on Schram; Mirza Muḥammad's calculation, *Chahār Maqālah*, p. 202, is slightly incorrect.

² E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325. Also Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 47:

فضل و اکابر اشعار او [مسعود سعد سلام] را معتقدند چنانکه فلکی شرافی در
منقبت خود میگوید و ذکر سخن مسعود میکند
گر این طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی جهان صد آفرین کردي روان سعد سلامش

³ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a.

⁴ J.R.A.S. 1905–6.

complicated, I found Dawlatshâh quoted without acknowledgment in the preface of the *Dîwân-i-Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'îd-i-Salmân* himself (transcribed in 1008 A.H.), where Falaki-i-Shirwâni is singled out from amongst the poets who have praised Mas'ûd's poetry.¹

It was necessary, therefore, to examine without distinction the works of all Persian poets contemporary with or posterior to Mas'ûd and anterior to Dawlatshâh. And so eventually Dawlatshâh's couplet was found in the *Dîwân-i-Adîb-i-Sâbir*² where it belongs to an ode of thirty-seven couplets, with the beginning :

دل عاشق شدن فرمود و من بر حسب فرمانش
در افتادم با آن دردی که پیدا نیست درمانش

and the conclusion :

به از بندۀ گوید خلق مدح مجلس عالی
بدین معنی مسلم کرده اند اهل خراسانش
ز شعر بندۀ پُر دُر شد دهان و لفظ هر راوی
که مدح مجلس عالی پُر از دُر کرد دیوانش
بدین حسن و طراوت شعر اگر مسعود را بودی
هزاران آفرین کرده روان سعد سلامش
همیشه تا همی خوانند و در اخبار و در قرآن
صفات یوسف و حسن حديث نوح و طوفانش
جهان دل باد و او دانش خراسان مصر و او یوسف
خداؤند جهان داده بقای نوح و لقمانش

The patron's name given in the fourteenth couplet of this ode as *Majdu'd-Din Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ali*³ leaves no doubt that the ode really

¹ *Dîwân-i-Mas'ûd-i-Sâ'îd-i-Salmân*, Br. Mus. MS. Egerton 701, f. 1b :

فلکی شیروانی و دیگر شمرا مقتب شاعری او [مسعود سعید سلمان] را در اشعار خود
یان نموده اند

² *Dîwân-i-Adîb-i-Sâbir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 27-8a.

³ *Idem*, f. 27b :

رئیس شرق محمد الدین ابوالقاسم علی کایزد مزین کرد عالم را بعدل و حلم و احسانش

از اثر میر سکار سخن بند شد
 در بود پش ازین روزی شو شده
 کر تو طبیر می شور من زایش کندزم
 با بگال این همز شهره شوم چاوز
 شعر حین تو جون فلکی بود مر
 زا که مدار داین شرف قوه طبع
 ماز غبار غالبه کرد غدار دسران
 خامه صنع میکند صوره خط بهز
 باز جان بگام تو ناز عمر بر خوری
 باز فلک مطیع تو تابود حنخ مرگش

اه پر تو منور دار و دا
 مشک را کنست موئی تو معطر دا
 خال میکین تو بصنی خور بسیل
 رونقی دار و انصاف کرد خوار دا
 شیوه بند کی خط تو ریجان دار
 ردد پر تو خور شید خرت اور دا
 هر شب در هوس رو تیه میسوز دا
 مال دل شکی خود با دست خواست
 نسبت قامت تو بصنو بکرد دا
 شد پسر هوای سکن بچین دل
 هر که در خانه تو سرو سپر دار
 هم ازان روز که اخلاص تویی ورزد

belongs to *Adib-i-Şâbir*, for *Majdu'd-Dîn Abû'l-Qâsim 'Ali* was *Adib-i-Şâbir*'s earliest patron, to whom the majority of the odes in his *dîwân* are addressed.¹

III

Amongst the poets of Persia who have mentioned *Falakî-i-Shirwâni* there is first of all his contemporary, *Khâqânî*, whose elegy on the death of *Falakî* has already been cited.² Secondly, there is the poet *Zâhiru'd-Dîn-i-Shufurwah*, brother of *Sharafu'd-Dîn-i-Shufurwah* and, like him, a panegyrist of *Arslân Shâh* b. *Tughril* II (556-73 A.H.) and *Tughril* III b. *Arslân Shâh* (573-90 A.H.) who makes the following incidental reference to *Falakî*³:

گر تو ظهیر من شوی من ز انیس بگذرم تا بکمال این هنر شهره شوم چو انوری
شعر چنین ... تو چون فلکی بود مرا ز آنکه ندارد این شرف قوی طبع عنصري

Shouldst thou become my supporter I shall surpass fire (by the quality of my verse); until by attaining perfection in the art of poetry I shall become celebrated like *Anwâri*.

My verse is . . . like (the verse of) *Falakî*, for this honour transcends the power of the genius of 'Unşûri'.

The India Office *Dîwân-i-Zâhiru'd-Dîn-i-Shufurwah* is not unique, as regarded by Ethé, but Prof. N. Martinovitch tells me that the ode in question is wanting in the copy owned by Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore. It is obvious, however, that *Zâhiru'd-Dîn-i-Shufurwah* has chosen his words with a double object: he has pitted *Falakî* against 'Unşûri, because "Falakî", meaning "heavenly", is the exact antithesis of "Unşûri", meaning "mortal" or "terrestrial"⁴; and, secondly, he has compressed in two couplets the names of six poets, as follows: *Zâhir(u'd - Dîn - i - Fâryâbî)*⁵ or *Zâhir(u'd - Dîn - i - Shufurwah)* himself;

¹ *Dîwân-i-Adib-i-Şâbir*, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 327, f. 5b, 8b, 10b, 12b, 23b, 55a, etc.

² *Supra*, pp. 44-45.

³ *Dîwân-i-Zâhiru'd-Dîn-i-Shufurwah*, India Office MS. No. 240, f. 87a.

⁴ Cf. al-Baydâwî in his *Nizâmu't-Tawârikh*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1859, f. 2b:

حدبی نهایت . . . مبدعی را که یک امر "کن" عالم اشباح و ارواح را پیدا کرد و اجرام فلکی و اجسام عنصري . . . بعضاي وجود آورد

⁵ Died 598 A.H.

Athir(u'd - Dīn - i - Akhsikatī)¹ ; Anwari² ; Falakī ; Sharaf(u'd - Dīn - i - Shufurwah) ; and 'Unṣūrī.³

The third reference is an appreciation by 'Iṣmat. To the well-known qaṣīdah of Falakī: [— — — | — — — || — — — | — — —]

سپهی مجد و معالی محیط نقطه عالم جهان جود و صروت چراغ دوده آدم

the poet 'Iṣmat of Bukhārā has written, as was pointed out by Dawlatshāh,⁴ a " reply " or " parallel ", addressed to Khalil Sultān b. Mīrānshāh b. Timūr (ruled in Samarqand 807-12 A.H. and died 814 A.H.)⁵ : [— — — | — — — || — — — | — — —]

شیبی ز درد جدائی نداشم سر عالم رخی زگریه پرازخون دلی ز ناله پرازغم
رفعیه مرتبه عالی خلیل آنکه بطاعت پی سجود جنابش گرفت قد فلک سخم

One night, because of the pangs of separation, I lost (all) interest in the world ; flushed was my face with tears, and oppressed was my heart with grief.

The exalted and eminent Khalil ! To express its obedience by prostration at his threshold, bent is the stature of heaven.

'Iṣmat goes on to state that, since a thousand 'Iṣmats cannot hope to rival Falakī, the sole purpose of his " reply " is to learn from Falakī the arts of polite speech and poetry⁶ :

کراگان که من از فن شاعری بزم دم
که نام من بثای تورفت در همه عالم
دم زحسن تناش بماند الکن و مفخم
چه جایی من که بناشد حد هنار چو من هم
مرا طریقه علم و ادب شود متعم

ز بنده علم و ادب بود جله را متوقع
گر آن طریق میسر نشد چه بتر ازینم
قصيدة فلکی چون بگوش جانز من آمد
من فقیر که باشم که دم زنم ز جنابش
از آن تبع آن شعر کرده ام که ز طورش

¹ Panegyrist of Arslān Shāh b. Tughril II (556-73 A.H.) and of the Atābek Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz (581-87 A.H.).

² Died after 581 A.H.

³ Died between 432 and 442 A.H.

⁴ Browne's ed., p. 104.

⁵ *Dīwān-i-'Iṣmat* of Bukhārā, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3500, f. 59a-61a.

⁶ *Idem*, f. 60b-61a.

They knew I was polite and learned, but who knew my aptitude for poetry ?

Even if I have not mastered that art what can be better than that by reciting thy praise I should be known throughout the world ?

When the ode of Falakī came to the ears of my soul I stammered with admiration, and was unable to reply (to his ode).

Can an ordinary person, like myself, rival Falaki's eminence ? No, nor even a thousand others like myself.

To acquire learning and the art of polite speech have I imitated the verse of Falaki.

Finally, there is the poet *Salmān-i-Sāwajī* (700–78 A.H.), who, like *Işmat*, has imitated Falakī, but, unlike *Işmat*, has not acknowledged his indebtedness. Says Falakī in an ode addressed to *Minūchihr* II¹ : [—|—|—|—]

رخ و زلف و لب و چشم و خط و خالِ تو ای دلب
 ز من برند هوش و لهو و صبر و عیش و خواب و خور
 نمانده تا ز تو دورم مرا از غایتِ محنت
 بصر در چشم و جان در تن طرب در طبع و دل در بر
 زمانه حکم و امر و کام و رایش را مسخر شد
 بحلّ و عقد و امر و نهی و قبض و بسط و خیر و شر
 چه اسپست آنکه روزِ کین بود در زیرِ رانِ او
 تن گردون بسر اختر بسم مرمر بتگ صرص

To this *Salmān* “replies” in an ode composed in honour of *Shaykh Hasan*, founder of the *Jalā'ir* dynasty (736–57 A.H.)² : [—|—|—|—]

چشم و غمزه و رخسار و ابرو میرد دلب
 قرار از جسم و خواب از چشم و هوش از عقل و عقل از سر

¹ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, ode viii.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Salmān-i-Sāwajī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2815, f. 23a.

ناشد خالی از فکر و خیال و ذکر او ما را
 روان در تن خرد در سر سخن در لب نفس در بر
 باصر و رای و تدبیر و مراد اوست گردون را
 ثبات و سیر و حل و عقد و امر و نهی و خیر و شر
 بوقت سبق و سین و عزم و رزم از وی فرو ماند
 بسرعت وهم و جستن برق و رفتن یل و تگ صرص

THE *DIWĀN* OF FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ

Abbreviations

B = British Museum MS. of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, Or. 3506.
D = Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. transcribed at Simla.
F = *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*.
H = *Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203.
L = Leningrad anonymous anthology, Public Library MS. No. 322.
M = Munich *Diwān-i-Falakī*, Or. 279 Prunneri.
Ma = *Majma'u'l-Fusahā*, Tīhrān ed.
Mu = *Mūnisu'l-Ahrār*, MS. owned by H. Kevorkian of New York.
O = British Museum MS. Or. 4110—an anonymous anthology.
P = Paris copy of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, Suppl. Persan, 799.
T = Anonymous *tadhkirah*, British Museum MS. Or. 3386
Ta = Taqī Awḥādī's *tadhkirah*, India Office MS. No. 3654.

I

THE ORIGINAL *DIWĀN-I-FALAKĪ*

Although the fact of Falakī being an astrologer cannot be questioned, for it is based on the contemporary evidence of Falakī's compatriot, the poet Khāqānī, I have found no trace of the treatise on astrology, which, according to Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, was written by Falakī and appreciated by the astrologers of the age. The extant works of Falakī, therefore, are merely poetical, and even these seem to have partly perished.

In his *Khulāṣatu'l-Asḥār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār* of 985 A.H. Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī states that the *Diwān-i-Falakī* which is very rare, and which he hopes to be able to discover some day, consists of 7,000 couplets, comprising odes, lyrics, and quatrains.¹ This is the earliest estimate of Falakī's works, the others being: the anonymous anthology of Leningrad² and *Suhuf-i-ibrāhīm*³ (1205 A.H.), 7,000 couplets; Taqī Awḥādī⁴

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501a.

² Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a.

³ Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 261a.

⁴ India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 993a.

(1024 A.H.), and *Khulāsatū'l-Afkār*¹ (1207 A.H.), 3,000 couplets ; and the modern British Museum anthology² (1253-87 A.H.), 10,000 couplets. Now as Falakī died young,³ and as he was originally an astrologer with little aptitude for poetry,⁴

ز اوّل ک سحن بنظم کرم کم بود بشاعری عیارم

When I first composed verse I had little aptitude for poetry.

the higher figures—7,000 and 10,000—given by the *tadhhirahs* appear unlikely. The present text comprises 1,197 couplets.

II

SOURCES OF THE PRESENT *Dīwān-i-Falakī*

Sources of the present *Dīwān-i-Falakī* are the following : (A) *dīwāns* of Falakī ; (B) *tadhhirahs* ; (C) books of general knowledge and history ; and (D) lexicons and works on prosody.

Dīwāns of Falakī

“ Falakī’s *dīwān*,” writes Taqīu’d-Dīn Kāshī in 985 A.H., “ is very rare and is supposed to contain 7,000 couplets. I hope to find this *dīwān* one day ; meanwhile, I have recovered with great difficulty the following collection of the poems of Falakī.”⁵ Now the *tadhhirah* of Taqīu’d-Dīn Kāshī itself has become very rare so that I have not found more than two copies of this work with poetical extracts from Falakī—the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b-512a, 1,084 couplets, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Suppl. Persan 799, f. 218b-251a, 1,060 couplets. Thinking,

¹ India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 221a.

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3386, f. 283b.

³ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁴ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 462.

⁵ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501a-b :

دیوان اشعار فلکی میگویند قریب بهفت هزار بیت از قصیده و غزل و رباعی هست لیکن مهجور و نایbast و مسود این اوراق زحمت بسیار کشید و ازو چند قصیده پیدا کرده درین خلاصه بی حذف و تقصیر مثبت گردانید، انشاء الله تعالی بعد از پیدا کردن دیوان تمامی باقی اشعارش انتخاب نموده درین اوراق ثبت خواهد شد،

therefore, that the field had been thoroughly investigated by Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī, I had decided to make his *tad̄hkīrah* the basis for preparing a *Dīwān-i-Falakī* when I came across two important notices of the *dīwān*, the first in the *Oudh Catalogue* of A. Sprenger, and the second in the *Munich Catalogue* of J. Aumer. Says Sprenger :

No. 199

دیوانِ فلکی

Beginning of the *Qaṣīdahs*

سپهِ مجد و معالیٰ محيطِ نقطہٰ عالم جیانِ جود و صروتِ چراغِ دودہ آدم

Motī Mahall, two copies, one 12mo, 72 pp. of 14 or 15 *bayts*, written at Agra in an elegant hand in 1015 A.H., prefixed is a short biography of the author.

This information is brief but significant : the Oudh *Dīwān-i-Falakī* began exactly like the known collections of Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī. Further, as there were 72 pages of 14 or 15 couplets to a page there could not have been more than $72 \times 15 = 1,080$ couplets. Now, as some pages contained 14 couplets instead of 15, the space of a line must have been left over to prevent the odes from running in, and as a good collection of Falaki's poems contains 25 odes, the gap must have amounted to 25 couplets. This reduces the number of couplets to $1,080 - 25 = 1,055$, and if we make an allowance for the gaps between the different *ghazals*, "fragments," and quatrains, a nearly correct estimate of the Oudh *Dīwān-i-Falakī* would be 1,040 couplets. In other words, the Oudh *Dīwān-i-Falakī* contained 20 couplets less than the Paris *tad̄hkīrah* of Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī. This difference is too trivial to negative the suggestion that the Oudh *Dīwān-i-Falakī* was extracted from Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī : numerically, indeed, the Oudh *Dīwān-i-Falakī* resembles the Paris *tad̄hkīrah* of Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī even more closely than the Paris *tad̄hkīrah* resembles the *tad̄hkīrah* of London. Therefore, though neither of the two Oudh copies can be traced, it is perhaps some consolation to find that they were merely extracts from Taqī'u-d-Dīn Kāshī, dignified by the title of " *dīwān* ".

There remains the second *dīwān* of Falakī, written in Ta'līq about the eleventh century A.H., and comprising folios 93a to 133b of the Munich MS. Or. 279 Prunneri. This MS. contains no lacuna, but the folios of the

dīwān have not been inserted in their proper place, so that the following corrections are necessary : folios 93a to 102b as at present ; then 104, 103, 106, 105, 107-108, 116, 110-115, 109 ; and 117a to 133b as at present.

The Munich *dīwān* contains twenty odes in alphabetical order, three *tarkīb-bands*, one prison-poem, five quatrains, and some *ghazals* and “fragments”, comprising altogether 1,135 couplets. On f. 130b-131a are three couplets, which form part of four couplets cited on f. 129b. Subtracting these three couplets, the Munich *dīwān* contains 1,132 couplets, being the largest known collection of the poetical works of Falakī.

The value of the Munich *dīwān*, however, is chiefly quantitative : the scribe, apparently, was a man of no learning ; several words have been omitted ; others misspelt ; others, again, have not been dotted. The errors are so plentiful that not more than a half of the *dīwān* makes sense. By collating, however, with the *tadhkirah* of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī and other texts presently to be described, I found that the Munich *dīwān* could be deciphered, and that of the thirty couplets of ode No. xviii, which appeared to be unique, twenty-nine couplets were contained in the anonymous anthology of Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322. Further, *tarkīb-band* No. 1, which contains sixty-nine couplets, whereof thirty-seven couplets are not found in any other collection, proved to be less defective than I anticipated : I decided, therefore, to yield to the numerical factor and make the Munich *dīwān* a basis for compiling a *Dīwān-i-Falakī*.

B

Tadhkirahs

Several *tadhkirahs*, like the *Lubā'u'l-Albāb* of Muhammad 'Awfi, omit Falakī altogether ; others mention him, either with or without citing poetical extracts from him.

The following five *tadhkirahs* mention Falakī but do not cite poetical extracts from him :

- (i) *Nafahātu'l-Una* (883 A.H.) of Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Jāmī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,717, f. 281a.
- (ii) *May-khānah* (1040 A.H.) of Hasan b. Lutṣu'llāh-i-Tīhrānī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3537, f. 240a.
- (iii) *Mir'ātu'l-Khiyāl* (1102 A.H.) of Shir Khān b. 'Alī Amjad Khān, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 231, f. 23b.

(iv) *Tad̄hk̄irah-i-Husaynī* (1163 A.H.) of Husayn Dūst-i-Sanbhālī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 229, f. 138a.

(v) *Šuhūf-i-Ibrāhīm* (1205 A.H.) of ‘Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 260b–261a.

The *tad̄hk̄irahs* which give biographical notices of Falakī, accompanied by poetical extracts, are the following twenty-six, the number of couplets cited varying from 1 to 1,088 :

	Couplets.
(i) <i>Mūnisu'l-Āhrār fī Daqā'iqī'l-As̄h̄ār</i> (741 A.H.) of Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī, MS. owned by Mr. H. Kevorkian of New York	72
(ii) Anonymous anthology (804 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110, f. 121a–122b	60
(iii) <i>Tad̄hk̄iratu'sh-Shu'arā</i> (892 A.H.), of Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., pp. 103–04	5
(iv) <i>Khulāṣatu'l-As̄h̄ār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār</i> (985 A.H.) of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b–512a	1,088
<i>Idem</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS., Suppl. Persan No. 799, f. 214b–251a	1,062
(v) Anonymous anthology (c. 1000 A.H.), Asiatic Society of Bengal, Persian MS. No. 923, f. 141a	? 1
(vi) <i>Bazm Ārā'i</i> (1000 A.H.) of Sayyid ‘Alī b. Maḥmūd, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3389, f. 91a–91b	61
(vii) <i>Haft Iqlīm</i> (1002 A.H.) of Amīn Aḥmad-i-Rāzī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 394b–396a	99
(viii) <i>Khayru'l-Bayān</i> (1019 A.H.) of Husayn b. Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a and 75b	9
(ix) <i>‘Urafātu'l-Āshiqīn</i> (1024 A.H.) of Taqī Awhādī, India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 992b–995a	93
<i>Idem</i> , Bankipore MS. No. 685	93
(x) <i>Lubbu'l-Lubāb</i> (1097 A.H.) of Muḥammad Qulī Qāchār, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3400, f. 132b–133a	1
(xi) <i>Safīnah-i-Khushgū</i> (1147 A.H.) of Bindrāban Dās, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 652, f. 63a–b	26
(xii) <i>Yad-i-Baydā</i> (1148 A.H.) of Ghulām ‘Alī Āzād, Bankipore MS. No. 691, f. 174a	2

¹ I have not been able to obtain rotographs of this MS., but the couplets cited occur only on f. 141a. See W. Ivanow's Catalogue, p. 421, Calcutta, 1924.

(xiii) <i>Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat</i> (1149 A.H.) of 'Alī Fitrat 'Atṭā'u'llāh, India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.	Couplets. 2
(xiv) <i>Muntakkibū'l-Ash'ār</i> (1161 A.H.) of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Bodleian Library MS. Elliott No. 247, f. 138b	1
(xv) <i>Riyādu'sh-Shu'arā</i> (1161 A.H.) of 'Alī Qulī-i-Dāghistānī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,729, f. 335a	7
(xvi) <i>Ātashkādah</i> (1193 A.H.) of Lutf 'Alī-i-Isfahānī, India Office MS. No. 2929, f. 27b-28a	29
(xvii) Anonymous <i>Universal Biography of Persian Poets</i> (1170-80 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 2415, f. 19b-20a and f. 618a	1
(xviii) <i>Khulāsatū'l-Afkār</i> (1207 A.H.) of Abū Tālib b. Muḥammad-i-Isfahānī, India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 221a-b	42
(xix) <i>Makhrānu'l-Gharā'ib</i> (1218 A.H.) of Ahmad 'Alī Hāshimī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4610, f. 318a	10
(xx) <i>Nishtar-i-'Ishq</i> (1233 A.H.) of Husayn Qulī Khān-i-'Azīmābādī, Bankipore MS. No. 716	2
(xxi) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (1253-87 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3386, f. 283b-289a	484
(xxii) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (1270 A.H.), Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 681, f. 415a-416a	24
(xxiii) <i>Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā</i> (1295 A.H.) of Ridā Qulī Khān, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, pp. 381-2	51
(xxiv) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (undated), Leningrad Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a-190a	294
(xxv) MS. transcribed for Sir E. Denison Ross at Simla, 1911 A.D.	650
(xxvi) Anonymous anthology (recent), Asiatic Society of Bengal, Persian MS. No. 927, f. 19a	? 1

Some of these *tadhkirahs* deserve special attention. Of the rare *Khulāsatū'l-Ash'ār wa Zubdatū'l-Afkār* of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī, a third copy, with poetical extracts from Falaki, described by Bland, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. ix, p. 126, cannot be traced.² Of the extant copies, both written in

¹ I have not been able to obtain rotographs of this MS., but the couplets cited occur only on f. 19a. See W. Ivanow's *Catalogue*, p. 438, Calcutta (1924).

² The *tadhkirah* of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī in the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, is not, as it is supposed to be, the copy described by Bland, for it does not contain poetical extracts from Falaki. Similar abridged MSS. of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī exist in the India Office and the Bankipore Library.

the sixteenth century A.D. and therefore in the lifetime of the anthologist, Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, the London copy contains 1,088, and the Paris copy 1,062 couplets. From the former copy, four couplets which occur on f. 507b and are repeated on f. 511b, and from the latter copy, two couplets which occur on f. 221a and are repeated on f. 222b, should be eliminated. The number of couplets, therefore, in the two copies is reduced to 1,084 and 1,060 respectively, the difference of twenty-four couplets arising as follows :

Extras in the London copy

Ode iii, 12 couplets ; Ode iv, 12 couplets ; Ode v, 3 couplets ; Ode x, 14 couplets ; Ode xv, 2 couplets ; Ode xx, 6 couplets ; Ode xxiii, 1 couplet ; *Tarkīb-band* ii, 2 couplets ; and *Ghazals* and "Fragments", 12 couplets. Total, 64 couplets.

Extras in the Paris copy

Ode xi, 1 couplet ; *Tarkīb-band* i, 2 couplets ; and a new prison-poem, 37 couplets. Total, 40 couplets.

The London copy has sixty-four couplets which are not found in the Paris copy, and, as the Paris copy has forty couplets which are wanting in the London copy, the difference is twenty-four. A collated text of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī would contain $1,084 + 40 = 1,124$ couplets of Falakī, but even this number falls short of the 1,132 couplets of the Munich *dīwān*.

Next in numerical value to the copies of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī are Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. (650 couplets) and the Br. Mus. anthology Or. 3386 (484 couplets). The former of these, comprising thirty-three single folios transcribed by Mirzā Abū'l-Qāsim at Simla on 22nd December, 1911 A.D., and generously lent to me for an unlimited period, is not a complete copy, for it contains on the margin of f. 20 the following note in the hand of Sir E. Denison Ross : "The rest of this *qaṣīdah* is illegible being written on the margin which has been hopelessly destroyed by insects." Unfortunately Sir E. Denison Ross does not recollect the original from which his copy was made, but the ultimate source is probably the Paris copy of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī which contains all the 650 couplets of Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. Further, as the ode which is supposed to have been partly destroyed is actually complete, and as between this and the succeeding ode there intervene, in the Paris copy, odes ix and vii of the present collection, it is almost

certain that the lost ode was not a new ode, but one of the two odes ix or vii. Finally, as all the 484 couplets of the Br. Mus. anthology Or. 3386 are found in the London copy of *Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī*, this anthology and the MS. of Sir E. Denison Ross must be regarded as mere offshoots of the London and Paris copies of *Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī* respectively.

There remains the anonymous and undated anthology of Leningrad 294 couplets). Written in a very fine and legible hand, this anthology contains twenty-nine of the thirty couplets of a rare ode, No. xviii, found elsewhere only in the Munich *dīwān*. On the other hand, as will be shown later on, there are five couplets in this anthology which are wanting in the Munich *dīwān*. Obviously, therefore, the Munich *dīwān* and the Leningrad anthology belong to different originals.

Of the other *tadhkirahs*, containing less than 100 couplets of Falaki, only the rare '*Urafātu'l-'Ashiqīn* of *Taqī Awḥadī* need be mentioned. The India Office and the Bankipore MSS. of this work are equally defective, so that of the ten couplets of a rare ode, No. xiv, contained therein, only the eight couplets cited in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā* can be deciphered.

Books of General Knowledge and History

Falakī-i-Shirwānī is mentioned in the following seven books of general knowledge and history :

- (i) *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah* (730 A.H.) of *Hamdu'llāh Mustawfi-i-Qazwīnī*, Browne's ed., p. 824.
- (ii) *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār* (840 A.H.) of *Shaykh Ādharī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7607, f. 183b.
- (iii) *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* (1019 A.H.) of *Hasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a-b.
- (iv) *Šubḥ-i-Sādiq* (1045 A.H.) of *Muhammad b. Muḥammad-i-Isfahānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1728, f. 58a.
- (v) *Mirātu's-Safā* (1179 A.H.) of *Muhammad 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq-i-Burhānpūrī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6539, f. 229a.
- (vi) *Mukhtaṣar* (1222 A.H.) of *Muhammad Husayn b. Karam 'Alī-i-Isfahānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7663, f. 215a.
- (vii) *Bustānu's-Siyāḥat* (1248 A.H.) of *Ni'matu'llāh b. Iskandar-i-Shirwānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3677, f. 141b.

The space given to Falaki in these works amounts only to a line or two, no poetical extracts from Falaki being cited.

D

Lexicons and Works on Prosody

The following four lexicons contain poetical extracts from Falakī. Firstly, the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*¹ (1017 A.H.), thirteen couplets: under ال (one couplet); under انگدان (one couplet); under بـ (one couplet); under تـاب (two couplets); under خـام (one couplet); under خـون خـروس (one couplet); under چـاچـله (one couplet); under گـرـبـه اـز بـغـل اـفـکـنـدـن (one couplet); under واـیـه or گـرـبـه اـز بـغـل اـفـکـنـدـن (two couplets); and under یـلـه (one couplet). Of these couplets, the four cited under خـون خـروس are unique, for they are not found in the usual collections of the works of Falakī.

The second lexicon is the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* (1064 A.H.) which cites seven and a half couplets: under انگدان (one hemistich); under چـاچـله (one couplet); under خـام (one couplet); under دـسـتـکـار (one couplet); under شـاد خـور (one couplet); under کـارـاسـی (one couplet); under گـرـبـه اـز بـغـل اـفـکـنـدـن (one couplet); and under مـیـانـه (one couplet).

The third lexicon is the *Bahār-i-'Ajām* (1162 A.H.) which cites two couplets under خـون خـروس and گـرـبـه اـز بـغـل اـفـکـنـدـن

Finally, there is the *Farhang-i-Anjuman Ārī-Nāṣīrī* (1288 A.H.), which cites eleven couplets: under بـزـل (one couplet); under بـزـل (one couplet)²; under بـ (one couplet); under تـاب (two couplets); under خـام (one couplet); under خـو (one couplet); under دـسـتـکـار (one couplet); under کـارـاسـی (one couplet); under گـرـبـه اـز بـغـل اـفـکـنـدـن (one couplet); and under مـیـانـه (one couplet). The couplet cited under بـزـل, however, is spurious, being ascribed by the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*³ and the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*⁴ to Hāli-i-Sabzawārī.

¹ The complete *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī* (e.g. Paris MSS. Suppl. Persan 1560 and Suppl. Persan 437) contains an appendix with five sections.

هر شام کرد ناله [قله. ۷] او دوله شفال هر صبح کرد خنده [خندق. ۷] او نرمه بزل^۳

^۴ Under بـل.

Of works on prosody, in the *Al-Mu'jam fi Ma'āyīri Ash'āri l-Ājam* of Shams-i-Qays, courtier and chamberlain to Sa'd b. Zangi (599–628 A.H.), there are cited two couplets (pp. 392–93, Mirza Muhammad's ed.) from Falaki, to illustrate the device of commencing an ode as a *qasīdah* and ending it as a *ghazal* with a new *maṭla'*.

III

ADDITIONS TO THE MUNICH *Dīwān-i-Falaki*

As previously explained, the basis for compiling Falaki's *dīwān* is the Munich *Dīwān-i-Falaki*, Or. 279 Prunneri, containing 1,132 couplets. To this number the following 108 couplets which are not contained in the Munich *dīwān* should be added.

(i) Twelve couplets forming a new ode.

B. f. 509b–10a.

این دل چه دلست و این چه یارست کارِ من ازین دو ساخت زارت	کارِ منِ مستمند صعبست
کاندِ بِرِ من نه دل نه یارست	آباد بدان سمندِ میمون
کاندِ خورِ روزگارِ زارت	پهنايِ زمین بپيشِ سپریش
چون دیده مور و چشمِ مازست	از نعلِ هلالِ یکِ او
در گوشِ سپهِ گوشوارست	چون چرخ همه قوائمِ او
علیِ قویِ و استوارست	غار از تنِ او بسانِ کوه است
کوه از سُمِ او بسانِ غارت	از تاختنش بگاهِ جولان
مه عاجز و چرخ شرمسارست	چون شاه برو سوار گردد
انگار که بر فلك سوارست	ای تاجوري که چرخِ گردان
از بِرِ کفرِ تو زیرِ بارست	هر گاه که مجلست بیند
گوید فلك این چه کار و بارست	بر خور ز بقایِ عز و دولت
کین جایِ نزول و اختصارست	

(ii) One couplet wanting in a *tarkib-band* of the Munich *dīwān*.

O. f. 121b.

مسکین دلم در آتشِ هجران بسوخت پس در عشقِ او تمامتو اسباب بآب داد

(iii) One couplet wanting in a “fragment” of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 511a; and T. f. 288b.

در بِرِ هر شَجَرَ شَمَرَ فَرِشِ فَلَكَ نَجْوَمَ شَدِ
بِر سَرِ هر شَمَرَ شَجَرَ چَتَرَ سَتَارَهَ بَارَ زَدِ

(iv) One couplet wanting in a “fragment” of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 511a; and T. f. 288b.

جز مِيِّ صَرْفَ در جَهَانِ چِيْسِتَ كَه اَزْ صَرْفَ اوِ
رَايِ طَرَبَ قَوِيِّ شَوَدَ رَايِتَ غَمَ نَگُونَ بَوَدِ

(v) Twelve couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 507b; and T. f. 286b.

تا بَدَلْ وَجَانْ مَرَا آَفَتِ جَانَانْ رسِيدِ
بَسْ كَه زَ جَانَانْ بَعْنَ رَنْجِ دَلْ وَ جَانْ رسِيدِ
خَاكِ رَه اَزْ چَشْمِ مَنْ چَشْمَهَ خَوَنَابَ گَشْتِ
تا بَعْنَ اَزْ بَادِ غَمَ آَشِ هَجْرَانِ رسِيدِ
تا لَبِرِ مَنْ دُورَ مَانَدَ اَزْ لَبِ وَ دَنَدانِ اوِ
دَلْ شَدَ وَ جَانَمِ بَلَبَ اَزْ بُنَ دَنَدانِ رسِيدِ

B. f. 507b.

هَسْتِ بَبَاغِ بَهَارَ چُونَ گَلِ خَنَدانِ رَخَشِ
در مِهِرَ اَزْ رَخَشِ مَهِرَ بَسْرَطَانِ رسِيدِ

B. f. 507b; and T. f. 286b.

20 او چو بَهَارَ وَ بَهَشْتَ وَزْ رَخَشِ رَخَشَانِ اوِ
فَتَنَهَ بَفَصِلِ خَزانِ بَأَنَّلِ وَ رِيْحَانِ رسِيدِ
چَهَرَهَ او آَفَتَابَ چَشْمَهَ حَيَوانَ لَبَشِ
چَشْمِ مَرَا زَآنَ دَوْ شَكَلَ آَفَتِ طَوْفَانِ رسِيدِ

گچه ز ظلمت رسید خضر بآبِ حیات
 دوش بمن ز افتاب چشمۀ حیوان رسید
 با رُخ رخشان او گشت بشروان خجل
 پرتو آن آفتاب کو ز خراسان رسید
 ماهِ رُخش چون بتافت از بُنِ دندانِ او
 بحرِ دوچشمِ مرا لؤلؤ و مرجان رسید
 گفتمش ای از لبت لعل بدخشان خجل
 بی لبت از چشمِ من خون بدخشان رسید
 شد بُن دندانِ تو لؤلؤ عمان ز آب
 وز غمِ تو اشکِ من زانسویِ عمان رسید
 چون فلکی در جفا با فلکی؛ طرفه نیست
 گر فلکی را ز دَرد بر فلک افغان رسید

(vi) One couplet wanting in a “fragment” of the Munich *dīwān*.
 B. f. 512a.

هر بار کزو دُور شدم صبر و دلم بود واکنون ز دل و صبر یکبار شدم دُور

(vii) One couplet forming a new ode.

Dawlatshâh, Browne’s ed., p. 47; *Khayru'l-Bayān*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a; and Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325.

گر این طرزِ سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
 همان صد آفرین کردي روانِ سعدِ سلماش^۱

(viii) One couplet forming a new “fragment”.

F., and *Bahār-i-'Ajam*, under خونِ خروس

30 هوایِ فاخته رنگست و ابِ بلبَل فام
 بریز خونِ خروس ای نگارِ کبک خرام

^۱ *Khayru'l-Bayān* : در آن هر لحظه سلماش.

(ix) Thirty-seven couplets forming a new “ prison-poem ”.

P. f. 249a-b ; and D. f. 26-7.

در هر فسی بجان رسد کارم
بی علت و بی سبب گرفتارم
بر دانه نیوفتاده منقارم
بسته کم آسمان به یگارم
هر روز عنای دهر ادرارم
بی تقویت علاج بیمارم
غمخوارم و اختراست خونخوارم
کرده ستم زمانه آزارم
و امسال بقدر کتر از پارم
حرفیست هر آفتی^۱ ز طومارم
امروز چه شد که نیست کس یارم
از گریه سخت و ناله زارم
ناگه چه قضا نمود دیدارم
شاید ; که بس ابله^۲ و سبکسارم^۳
دانم که نه دزدم و نه طردارم

شخصی بهزار غم گرفتارم
بی ذلت و بی گناه محبوسم
در دام جفا شکسته مرغی ام
خورده قسم اختران بتاگیم
هر سال بلاعی چرخ مرسوم
بی تربیت طبیب رنجورم
محبوسم و طالع است منحوسم
برده نظر ستاره تاراجم
امروز بغم فزون ترم از دی
40 طومار ندامت است طبع من
یاران گریده داشتم روزی
هر نیم شب آسمان ستوه آید
زندان خدایگان که و من که
بندیست گران بدست و پایم در
محبوس چرا شدم غیدام

P. f. 249b.

نر هیچ عمل نواله خوردم
تا بند^۱ ملک بود سزاوارم
بیدا باشد محل و مقدارم

نر هیچ عمل نواله خوردم
آخر چه کنم من و چه بَد کدم
مردی باشم ثناگر و شاعر

^۱ Variant هر آتشی.

^۲ ابله (insane ; stupid).

^۳ سبکسار (insane ; stupid) ; variant سبکسار.

جز مدحت شاه و شکر دستورش
آنست خطای من که در خاطر 50
بنمود خطاب و خشم شه^۱ خوارم^{*}
گفتم من و طالع نگونسارم
ترسیدم و پشت بر وطن کردم
ای واي اميدهای بسیارم

P. f. 250a ; and D. f. 27.

قصه چکنم دراز بس باشد
چون نیست گشايشی ز گفتارم
کاخرنکشد^۲ فلک مرا چون من
در ظل قبول صدر احرام

P. f. 250a.

صدر وزرای عصر بونصر آن
کافرود ز بندگیش مقدارم

P. f. 250a ; and D. f. 27.

آن خواجه که واسطه است مدح او
گر نیستم از^۳ جهان دعا گوییش
گر نه بشنای او گشایم لب
ای کرده گذر بخشمت از گردون 60
جانم بمعونت خود این کن
برخاست بقصد جان من گردون
آنی تو که با هزار جان خود را
ای قوت^۴ جانز من ذ لطف تو
شه بر سر رحمت آمدست اکنون
ارجو که بسعی و اهتمام تو

¹ Variant شد.

² The meaning is not clear.

³ Variant بکشد.

⁴ Variant در.

⁵ Variant کآنزو ز.

P. f. 250a.

این عیدِ حبسته را بصد معنی
بر خصمِ تو نا حبسته پندارم
بر خور ز دوامِ عمر کن گردد آنارم
در عهدِ تو گمْ

(x) Eight couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

Mu. ; Ta. f. 994a ; and L. f. 188a.

پنج فرضِ مقدّر چهار رکنِ محیّر
بهشت قصرِ معمر بهفت نورِ مقوّم

Mu. ; B. f. 501b ; Ta. f. 994a ; L. f. 188a ; and T. f. 284a.

بفیضِ منبر و مسجد بفرضِ مروده و مشعر
بقربِ عمره و قربان بفضلِ موقف و محَمَّ

Mu. ; B. f. 501b ; H. f. 395a ; Ta. f. 994a ; L. f. 188a ; and T. f. 284a.

گو است بر سخنِ من رسولِ سترِ معلّا
که هر چه رفت نکردم بحضورتِ تو مکتّم

Mu. ; B. f. 502a ; L. f. 188b ; and T. f. 284a.

کسی که سر کشد از تو کشیده باد همیشه
رقص بر جگر او بیشکِ افعی و ارقم

Mu. ; Ta. f. 994a ; and L. f. 188b.

ز دوست دورم و دارم تبی بر نجعِ معدّب
ز یار فردم و دارم دلی بدرد مهّم

B. f. 502a.

لحرّقَتِي لِحَبِّي يَدْمَ مَنْ هُوَ يَذْرِي
لِشَفْقَتِي لِعَشِيقِي يَلْوَمْ مَنْ هُوَ يَعْلَمْ

Mu. ; B. f. 502a ; and Ta. f. 994b.

إِذَا الْبَلَةِ بِرُوحِي دَنَا فَقْلَتْ تَفَضَّل
إِذَا الْعَنَاءِ لِقْلَبِي دَعَاهُ فَقْلَتْ تَقَدَّمْ

B. f. 502a ; and Ta. f. 994b.

وَإِنْ بَعْثَتْ كِتَابِي فَقَدْ بَدَا وَتَعَدَّى
وَإِنْ طَلَبْتْ جَوابِي فَقَدْ آبَى وَتَبَرَّمْ

(xi) Ten couplets forming a new ode.

Ta. f. 995a; and Bankipore No. 685.¹

ای لطفِ تو یار برحم (sic) در وصفِ تو هر گرو پی گم

Ta. f. 995a; Bankipore No. 685; and Ma. p. 382.

وز قوتِ تو زمین گران سُمْ	از هیبتِ توفیق سبکای
ایام بکین نگویدش قم	آنرا که بهر گوئی اجلس
رأیاتِ ترا قدر دمادم	فرمانِ ترا قضا پیاپی

Ta. f. 995a; and Bankipore No. 685.

80 در گرد سُمْ سمندِ توست چون مردمه نورِ چشمِ مردم

Ta. f. 995a; Bankipore No. 685; and Ma., p. 382.

در خود کشد ازدها دم و دم	آباد بدان سمند کر وی
گوئی که در آسیاست گندم	در زیر سمش زمین گه سین
صد ساله سینِ چرخ و انجم	یکساعتِ سینِ او بیدان
او باز به سینِ با تبسم	زُو چرخ بدور با تعجب
سر بر فلک آرد از تنعم	چون پای به پشتِ او در آری

(xii) Nine couplets forming a new ode.

B. f. 511a; and T. f. 288b.

آن عارضِ چون دو هفته ماهش بین
وآن طرّه گوشه کلاهش بین
رویش بپناهِ زلف در دیدی
جان و دلِ خلق در پناهش بین

¹ Mawlawi Muqtadir, who kindly transcribed the passage for me, has not indicated the folio number.

در زیر رخ چو آفتا^ب او
آن غبیر چون دو هفته ماهش بین

B. f. 511a.

از نور و ضیاء عارض خوبش
رخشان چو ستاره خاک راهش بین

B. f. 511a ; and T. f. 288b.

90 از بھر سپید کردن روزم
حال و خط و نرگس سیاهش بین

B. f. 511a.

از مشک بھ برش رسن دیدی از سیم در آفتا^ب چاهش بین

B. f. 511a ; and T. f. 288b.

لهاش چو مهره سلیمان دان گزند دو رخ از پری سپاهش بین

B. f. 511a.

در حسن [و] جمال پاگاهش دان در غنج و دلال دستگاهش بین
گر ماه ندیده که می نوشد در بزم شراب پادشاهش بین

(xiii) One couplet wanting in a *tarkib-band* of the Munich *dīwān*.

O. f. 121b ; B. f. 507a ; and P. f. 236a.

آورد گرد ماه خطی کر جمال اوست
شب رنگ او گرفته و شب بوی بوی او

(xiv) Two couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 506a.

باقلاني ناقلاني شد چو شاهش نقل کرد
بر کمالی کاسان نقصان کند نقصان ازو
بندر طوفان بست و لان از باقلاني بر گرفت
بند باقی ماند و در باقی شد آن طوفان ازو

(xv) One couplet forming a new “fragment”.

F., and *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī*, under خو.

ما راست جهاتِ سته یک گام ما راست بخارِ سبعه یک خو

(xvi) Six couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 509b; and T. f. 287b-88a.

از خندهٔ خیالِ لبِ لاله رنگِ تو

از بوستانِ جان گلِ خندان بر آمده

آی 100 که آن ز چشمِ حیوان بر آمدی

بر چهره‌ات ز چاهِ زندان بر آمده

در حلقه‌ایِ زلفِ پراگنده بر رُخت

کافورِ تر ز مشکِ پریشان بر آمده

از اشکِ چشم و خونِ دم خالِ کویِ تو

دریا شده وزو دُر و مرجان بر آمده

از بس که رنج برد دم در وفایِ تو

دردت بمن بمانده و درمان بر آمده

تا آتشِ فراقِ تو در جاتم اوفقاد یکاره دُود ازین دلِ بیان بر آمده

(xvii) One couplet forming a new “fragment”.

F., *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, and *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī*, under خام.

گر پخته نصیبِ پختگان است ما سوخته ایم خام در ده

(xviii) One couplet wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

F., and *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, under چاجله.

بس که کند بچشم و سر بر در درگهِ تو بر

صاحبِ چاج و کاشغر خدمتِ کفش و چاجله

(xix) One couplet wanting in a “fragment” of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 511a; and P. f. 233b.

هر جا که تو کوشیدی خصان قوی دیدی
بیخ همه ببریدی تخم همه بر کندي

(xx) One couplet wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 509a; and T. f. 287b.

108 خدای مُلک جهان بر تو ختم خواهد کرد
که در کمال هنر حد منتها داري

Altogether, therefore, $1,132 + 108 = 1,240$ couplets are ascribed to Falakī-i-Shirwānī.

IV

ELIMINATIONS FROM THE *Dīwān-i-Falakī*

Of the 1,240 couplets ascribed to Falakī there can be no doubt of the authenticity of 984 couplets which belong to poems under one or more of the following three categories—firstly poems containing the *takhallus* of Falakī (odes i, iv, v, x, xi, xvii, xx, xxi, xxii; *tarkīb-band* ii; and two *ghazals*, one of six couplets and the other of seven); secondly, poems containing the name of the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II (odes v, vii, viii, ix, x, xii, xiii, xv, xviii, xix, xxii; *tarkīb-bands* i, ii, iii; and two “fragments”, one of three couplets and the other of four); and thirdly, poems addressed to the ministers or princes of Shirwān (odes xvi, xxi, and a frivolous poem of seventeen couplets). The remaining 256 couplets, which neither contain the poet’s *takhallus* nor the patron’s name, are as follows: odes ii, iii, vi, xiv, xxiii (104 couplets); two prison-poems (sixty-four couplets); and *ghazals*, “fragments,” and quatrains (eighty-eight couplets). The scope of the present section, therefore, is to determine how many of these 256 couplets can be rejected.

The doubtful couplets fall under three categories: (A) odes; (B) prison-poems; and (C) *ghazals*, “fragments,” and quatrains.

A

The odes, apparently, all belong to Falaki, for, with the exception of ode No. ii, they are in the style of Falaki, and ode No. ii, though very peculiar,

مارست عقده عقده دوزلفش بر آفتاب
زان عقده عقده عقده تین گرفته تاب
وز توده توده عنبر تر برده رنگ و آب
زان توده توده توده عنبر در اکتساب

نارست شعله شعله رخ دلبرم ز تاب
زین شعله شعله آتش نهفته روز
چون نافه نافه مشک دوزلفش زرنگ و بو
زین نافه نافه نافه مشک اندر اهتم

is not a spurious but an imitative poem, drawing its inspiration from *Adib-i-Şâbir*¹ :

زلفین حلقه حلقه آن ماه دلستان
زین حلقه حلقه حلقه تیگ آیدم جهان
وز نور شعله شعله نهاده بر ارغوان
زین شعله شعله شعله نارست چون دخان

مشک ست توده توده نهاده بر ارغوان
زان توده توده توده مشک آیدم حقیر
چون قطره قطره آب لطیفست عارضش
زان قطره قطره قطره آبست در بخار

Further, in favour of the authenticity of ode No. xiv is the following note of *Taqî Awâhâdî*² :

و اکثر استادان این قصیده را [جواب] گفته و قایل کلات نیز
تبیع نموده چنانچه در تذکرة العارفین مذکورست و مطلع شد اینست
ای کاسه مه شکست از سُم سک فلک ست چو کرد در دم (sic)

And several poets of distinction and also the present writer have written a reply or "parallel" to this ode (of Falaki), as is set forth in the *Tadhkiratu'l-'Arifin*, the *matla'* being :

It broke the bowl of the moon with its hoof,

¹ *Dîwân-i-Adib-i-Şâbir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 40b.

² India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 995a.

These references, unfortunately, I have not been able to trace: only in the *Diwān-i-Sayfu'd-Dīn-i-Isfarangi*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 287, f. 111a, is there an ode [— — — | — — — | — — —]

ای جانِ ترا صفایِ انجم تازه بدم تو جانِ مردم
بیوسته ز امتلایِ نورست چون صبحِ لب تو در تبسم

which seems to have been written on the lines of Falakī¹:

در گردِ سُمِ سمندِ توست چون مردمه نورِ چشمِ مردم
زو چرخِ بدَورِ با تعجبِ او باز به سینِ با تبسم

B

Proceeding to the prison-poems it is curious that only those two prison-poems of Falakī should have survived which are of doubtful authorship. Even the fact, therefore, of Falakī's imprisonment might have been questioned were it not established on independent evidence. In an ode containing his *takhalluṣ* and addressed to the *Širwānshāh* *Minūchihr* II, Falakī states that false reports of his disloyalty have poisoned the mind of the king,² and in an ode not containing his *takhalluṣ* but again addressed to the *Širwānshāh* *Minūchihr* II, Falakī states that he had been reduced to a skeleton and was on the point of dying when the displeased king became merciful, condoned his faults, and pardoned his life.³ Obviously, therefore, Falakī had been cast into prison and then released by the order of the king.

To return now to the prison-poems. The first of these

هیچکس چاره سازِ کارم نیست چکنم بختِ سازگارم ینست

is of 27 couplets and is ascribed to Falakī by the following MSS.: M. f. 96a-b, 27 couplets; B. f. 509b, 22 couplets; P. f. 234b-235a, 22 couplets; H. f. 396a-b, 6 couplets; L. f. 190a, 12 couplets; D. f. 16-17, 21 couplets; *Bazm Arā'i*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3389, f. 91a, 10 couplets; *Safinah-i-Khushgū*, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 652, f. 63a, 3 couplets; and T. f. 288b, 21 couplets. The second prison-poem

¹ The *majlā'* of this ode is corrupt.

² *Supra*, p. 58.

³ *Supra*, p. 59.

شخصی بهنرار غم گفتارم در هر نفسی بجان رسد کارم

is of 37 couplets, and is ascribed to Falaki only by two MSS.—the Paris copy of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, f. 294a–250a, 37 couplets ; and Sir E. Denison Ross's MS., f. 26–7, 27 couplets. On the margin of f. 249b of the Paris copy, however, is the following note, written in a hand different from the scribe's :

این قصیده همانا شعر مسعود سعد سلیمان است و کتاب بغلط در میان اشعار فلکی نوشته اند

Probably this ode belongs to *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, having erroneously been inserted by scribes amongst the poems of *Falakī*.

Now both the prison-poems are in the style of *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*. Further, as I have found the second poem with its thirty-seven couplets on pp. 70b–71a of the lithographed edition of the *Dīwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān, 1292 A.H., and as the first poem contains a statement that the afflictions of the prisoner have arisen from his wealth and estates,¹ and as *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān* inherited from his father large farms and estates² of which he was trying to obtain legal possession at *Ghazna* when, being suspected of complicity in the treasonable designs of Prince *Sayf'u'd-Dawlah*, he was cast into prison,³ the question arises : To whom do these poems belong, to *Falakī* or to *Mas'ūd-i-Salmān* ?

In a *qaṣīdah* composed during his first imprisonment (480–90 A.H.) and addressed to the *Ghaznawid* Sultān Rađī'u'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm (450–92 A.H.), *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān* states that he has “ a son, a daughter, an aged mother, two sisters, and thirty or forty relatives who are weeping and wailing for him at home ”,⁴ and in an ode, written after his release from his second imprisonment (which lasted 492–500 A.H.), and addressed to Sultān Arslān Shāh b. *Mas'ūd* b. Ibrāhīm (509–11 A.H.),

¹ هر دو گر عاقلم بکارم یست مختت من ز ملک و مال منست
My trouble is due to my wealth and estates ; neither of these do I need if I am wise.

² *Dīwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 43a :

جون پهندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقایر بیر پدر

³ See Mirza Muhammad Khān's monograph on *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 701–2.

⁴ *Dīwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 76a :

دختري خورد دارم و پسری با دو خواهر بیوم هندوستان

بسته در راحت تو جان و روان سی چهل تن ز خویش و از یوند

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān states that he has "countless women and innumerable children to support".¹ Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, therefore, was the head of a large family, whereas in the first of the two prison-poems under discussion the prisoner declares that the only surviving members of his family are himself and his baby.² Obviously, therefore, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān cannot be the author of this poem.

There remains the second prison-poem with the following information :

دائم که نه دزد و نه طرّارم	حبوس چرا شدم نمیدام
نر هیچ عمل نواله خوردم	نر هیچ عمل نواله خوردم
کافرود ز بندگیش مقدارم	صدرِ وزرای عصّ بو نصر آن
کامروز شد آسمان بازارم	جامن بعونتِ خود این کن
مگذار چنین برج و تیمارم	شه برسی رحمت آمدست اکنون
زین غم بدهد خلاص دادارم	ارجو که بسعی و اهتمامِ تو

Why I have been imprisoned I do not know, though I know that I am neither a thief nor a cut-purse.

From no appointment have I swallowed a morsel, and from no deputyship have I retained a balance.

Bū Naṣr, the prime minister of the age, whose service has increased my status.

Do thou protect me by thy assistance, for to-day heaven has turned against me.

The king has now become merciful ; do not leave me in this way in pain and misery.

I hope that by thy efforts and diligence God may release me from my affliction.

The *mamduh* of the poem is Abū Naṣr described as the prime minister. Now amongst the patrons of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān were three Abū Naṣrs : (i) Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, the commander-in-chief of *Širzād*, viceroy of India ; (ii) Abū'l-Faraj Naṣr b. Rustam, also called Abū Naṣr b.

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 48b :

بی برگ و بی نوا شده و جمع گرد من	عورات بی نهایت و اطفال بی شار
کفر نز و ماده جز من و طفلی	میچکس زنده در تبارم نیست

Rustum,¹ governor of Lahore ; and (iii) Abū Naṣr Mānṣūr, a minister of the court of Ghazna. Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, however, cannot be the *mamduh* of this poem, for Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's second imprisonment resulted from his being a protégé of Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī² who had incurred the displeasure of Sultān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm.³ How, then, could Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān have asked Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, himself a fallen minister, to intercede with the king on his behalf as the prisoner in this poem is doing ? Nor can Abū Naṣr b. Rustam be the *mamduh* of the poem, for he was merely a provincial governor,⁴ whereas the Abū Naṣr, here intended, seems to have been the prime minister—*şadr-i-wuzarā-i-‘aşr*—of the imperial court.

There remains the third Abū Naṣr whose full name, Abū Naṣr Mānṣūr, appears in an ode of Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī⁵ :

ابو نصر منصور کر نسل آدم	چو آلس بعلم نبودست آلي
زهي نقطه عمده بخت و دولت	ترا نه زوالی و نه انتقالی

Elsewhere Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī calls Abū Naṣr Mānṣūr by the abbreviated form, Mānṣūr—for example⁶ :

روزگار عصیر انگورست	خُم ازو مست و خیل مخمورست
تاج نرگس بفرق نرگس بر	جام زریں خواجه منصورست

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 73a :

ای بو الفرجی کر تو فرج یافه احرار
وی بو نصیری کر تو شده نصرت حکم
تا لاجرم افلال هیگوید و ایام
احسن زهی پور گرانایه رستم

² *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 43a :

بنده بو نصر بر گاشت مراد
بعل هچو نایابی دگر
پس شکفتی بناشد ار باشد
مادحت قهرمان چالندر

³ For this reason both Muhammed Khaṭībī, commissioner of Quzdār in Sistān, and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, governor of Chālendar (a dependency of Lahore), lost their appointments. Tīhrān ed., p. 38a :

چو بنگریم همبدون پس از قضای خدا
بلای ما همه قزدار بود و چالندر

⁴ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 33a :

ای خواجه عمید نصر رستم
حساد بر بچ و ناصحت شاد
تو شاد نشسته به لوهور
نام تو به سیستان و نوشاد

⁵ *Diwān-i-Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 27,318, f. 5a.

⁶ *Idem*, f. 3a-b.

To this ode of *Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī*, *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān* wrote from his prison a reply or “parallel”, and as in this prison-parallel the patron is once again the minister *Mansūr*, there can be no doubt that *Abū Naṣr Mansūr* is intended¹:

چهه سیب سرخ گوی راست روی زوار خواجه منصور است
 جز ازو سوری همه عجب است جز بر او خواجه گی همه زور است
 این بر آن وزن و قافیت گفتمن روزگار عصیانگور است

It is possible, therefore, for *Abū Naṣr Mansūr* of *Ghazna* to be the *mamduh* of the prison-poem:

شخصی بهزار غم گرفتارم در هر نفسی بجهان رسد کارم

Elsewhere, however, it has been mentioned that amongst the patrons of *Falakī* was also an *Abū Naṣr*, who was the prime minister—*sayyidu'l-wuzarā*—of *Minūchihr II*, and whose full name was *Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l Naṣr Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'llāh*.² It is obvious, therefore, that the identity of the prison-poem must be sought elsewhere than in the name of the homonymous *mamduh*. Fortunately, the prison-poem contains the following two couplets:

محبوس چرا شدم نیدام دام که نه دزدم و نه طرّام
 نز هیچ عمل نوائۀ خوردم نز هیچ قبله باقی دارم

Why I have been imprisoned I do not know, though I know that I am neither a thief nor a cut-purse.

From no appointment have I swallowed a morsel and from no deputyship have I retained a balance.

There is no evidence that *Falakī*, the court-panegyrist of *Minūchihr II*, ever held an administrative post in the *Shirwān* government. On the other hand, as shown by *Mirza Muhammad Khān*, *Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān* was professionally not a poet but an administrative officer: before his first imprisonment he was a military commander under the viceroy of

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, *Tehrān* ed., pp. 12a-b.

² *Supra*, p. 24.

India, Prince Sayfu'd-Dawlah Mahmūd,¹ and before his second imprisonment he was the governor of Chālandar² (one of the dependencies of Lahore) under Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, commander-in-chief of Prince Shīrzād. It is almost certain, therefore, that the prison-poem under discussion belongs to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, the patron being the Ghaznawid minister Abū Naṣr Mānsūr.

C

Proceeding now to the doubtful *ghazals*, “fragments,” and quatrains, I have tried to examine the *dīwāns* of poets anterior to Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī, and the result, disproportionate perhaps to my expectations, is as follows :

(a) One couplet ascribed to Falakī by (i) Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 47; (ii) Khayru'l-Bayān, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a; and (iii) Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325 :

گر این طریق سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
بجان صد آفرین کردی روان سعد سلمانش

As stated elsewhere, this couplet is contained in the Br. Mus. *Dīwān-i-Adīb-i-Şābir*, Or. 237, f. 27a, where it belongs to an ode addressed to Majdu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī, a recognized patron of Adīb-i-Şābir.

(b) Two couplets ascribed to Falakī by (i) M. f. 130b; (ii) B. f. 511b; (iii) P. f. 248a; and (iv) D. f. 32 :

منم آن نیازمندی که بتو نیاز دارم غم چون تو نازنینی بهزار ناز دارم
غم دل از آن نگویم که ترا ملال خیزد کنم این حدیث کوته که غم دراز دارم

These couplets form part of a *ghazal* of five couplets contained in the Br. Mus. *Dīwān-i-Şams-i-Tabriz*, Add. 16,779, f. 288a, and in Prof. R. A. Nicholson's *Selected Poems from the Divāni Şamsi Tabriz*, p. 132 (1898) :

¹ *Dīwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 17b :

ت ام را بود ب ر ولایت دست بدم ایزد پرست و شاه پرست

دل بنزو و بشغل داشتني دشمنان را از آن همی دل خست

² *Supra*, p. 90, n. 3.

منم آن نیازمندی که بتو نیاز دارم غم چون تو نازنیبی بهزار ناز دارم
 توئی آفتابِ چشم بجمالِ تست روشن اگر از تو باز گیرم بک چشم باز دارم
 بعضا نمودن تو ز وفات بر نگردم بوفا نمودن خود ز جفات باز دارم
 گله کردم از تو گفتی که بساز چاره خود منم آنکه در غمِ الحق دلِ چاره ساز دارم
 غمِ دل بتو نگویم که ترا ملال گیرد کنم این حدیث کوته که غم دراز دارم

(c) Three couplets ascribed to Falaki by (i) M. f. 132a; (ii) B. f. 512a; (iii) P. f. 244a; (iv) T. f. 289a; and (v) D. f. 31:

برود ز ^۱ ارزوی او جانم	آرزومندِ رویِ جانم
صبر کردن بهجر نتوانم	همه چیزی همی تو انم کرد
دل بدادم کنون پشیمانم	دل ^۲ خطاشد مرا بدان مه روی

These couplets form part of a *ghazal* of six couplets contained in the Br. Mus. *Diwān-i-Qatrān*, Or. 3317,³ f. 239a:

پرد از آرزو همی جانم	آرزومندِ رویِ جانم
بجز از صبر نیست درمانم	آرزو را و دردِ دوری را
صبر کردن بهجر تو انم	همه چیز[ی] همی تو انم کرد

¹ D. برد از.

² So in all texts; obviously ظن.

³ On f. 67a of this *diwān* there begins a *qaṣīdah*

مهاواره مرا عید ز دیدارِ تو همار
 کبار [یکروز v.] بود عدیکسال یکبار
 which in his *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, dedication page (where the initial couplet alone is given) and pp. 116-17 (where the initial couplet is given together with the eight succeeding couplets and their English translation), Prof. E. G. Browne has ascribed to Imāmī of Herāt. The *qaṣīdah* was found by Prof. Browne on f. 98a of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2847, and apparently because of the title on the binding—“Brit. Mus. Or. 2847 *Divan Imami Persian*”—Prof. Browne came to the conclusion that the MS. was the *Diwān-i-Imāmī*. But as shown by C. Rieu (*Supplement*, p. 164), Or. 2847 consists of two portions: (i) *Diwān-i-Imāmī*, f. 2-93; and (ii) selection from the *Diwān-i-Qatrān*, f. 94-130. Rieu’s description, however, must be slightly amended, for on the last folio of the MS. occur six couplets of the well-known *ghazal* of Rūdākī:

بوی جویِ مولیان آید همی بوي یارِ مهر بان آید همی

See *Chahar Maqālah*, ed. Mirza Muḥammad, p. 33; and *Zafar Nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2833, f. 264b.

رنگِ رخسار [و] آبِ مژگانم	بر من و درد من بسیست گوا
تا دل از دستِ یار بستانم	دل بدادم بدهستِ خویش بطبع
دل بدادم کنون پشیمانم	ظن خطاشدا مرا در آن مه روی

Altogether, therefore, forty-three couplets¹—one belonging to *Adib-i-Şâbir*, two to *Shams-i-Tabriz*, three to *Qatrân*, and thirty-seven to *Mas'ûd-i-Sâd-i-Salmân*—must be excluded from the works of Falaki. This reduces the number of extant couplets from 1,240 to 1,197. Now, as the Munich *Dîwân-i-Falakî* contains five of the spurious couplets (those belonging to *Shams-i-Tabriz* and to *Qatrân*), the number of its couplets is also reduced from 1,132 to 1,127. In other words, the present edition of the *Dîwân-i-Falakî* contains seventy more couplets than the largest extant collection of the works of Falaki.

Disregarding the spurious ک بز couplet; see *supra*, p. 75.

APPENDIX

ABŪ'L-'ALĀ'S QASĪDAH

The *Dīwān-i-Abū'l-'Alā* has perished, but there is in the *Haft Iqlīm* an unutilized *qasīdah* of Abū'l-'Alā containing his name and written in his fifty-fifth year and addressed to *Minūchihr* II, whose premier courtier Abū'l-'Alā declares himself to be. In this *qasīdah* Abū'l-'Alā refers to 'Imādi and Sanā'i as persons deceased¹:

چو شد روانِ عِمادِی بِنْ گذاشت شرف چورفت جانِ سنَّاَیِی بِنْ بَمانَد سَنَا
تبارَکَ اللَّهُ بِنْجَاه و بِنْجَ بِشَرِّدَم بِشَصَتَ نَاشَدَه بِشَتَمَ چو شَصَتَ گَشَتَ دَوَتَم
بِعَزَّتِی کَه مَرَا بَاخَدِیگَانَ بُودَ اسَت شَهِ زَمِنَ و زَمَانَ فَخَرِ دِنَ ابُو الْهِیْجَاجَ
سَرِ مَلَوَلَ مُنْجَهِرَ چَهَرَ شَاهَ کَزَرَو شَدَه سَتَ زَنَه و فَرَخَنَه خَانَدَانِ تَنَّا²
.....
ابُو الْعَلَاءَ کَه تَرَا هَسَتْ سَيَّدَ التَّدَمَّا دروغَتْ سَخْنِی آنَکَه شَاهَ رَا گَفَتَد
مَعَانِدَانَ رَا حَالِ تو مَیَکَنَدْ اعْلَامَ مَخَالِفَانَ رَا سَرِ تو مَیَکَنَدْ اَنَّهَا³

When 'Imādi died he left me nobility; when Sanā'i died he left me eminence.

Exalted be God, I am fifty-five years of age; though not sixty, my back is bent like a bow.

By the honour conferred on me by His Majesty, the king of the world and time, *Fakhr(u'd-)Dīn Abū'l-Hayjā*,

The king of kings, the king with the face of *Minūchihr*, by whom has been revived and made auspicious the family of praise . . .

They have reported falsely to the king: "Abū'l-'Alā, who is thy premier courtier,

Discloses thy secrets to thy enemies and commits espionage on behalf of thy opponents."

¹ *Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MSS. Or. 203, f. 398b, and Or. 4902, f. 338a.

² Variant سَنَا.

³ Variant اَبَها.

As Sanā'ī states in three of his quatrains that Mu'izzi was killed by a stray arrow from the royal bow¹ (i.e. from the bow of Sultān Sanjar) and as the *tadhkira*hs declare this accident to have occurred in 542 A.H.,² the death of Sanā'ī is generally placed in 545 A.H. Now as the dates of Mu'izzi's supposed accidental death (542 A.H.) and of Sanā'ī's natural death (545 A.H.) are purely arbitrary, and as I have found from his own *dīwān* that Mu'izzi recovered from the accident after a serious illness of twelve months,³ it is obvious that the fact of Minūchihr II having survived Sanā'ī does not lead us to the probable date of Minūchihr's death, but rather to that of Sanā'ī himself. It must also be noticed that as the *Dīwān-i-'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī* contains a *qaṣīdah* addressed to Jahān Pahlawān⁴ who ruled c. 571-81 A.H., the 'Imādī who predeceased Minūchihr II must be 'Imādī-i-Ghaznawī. The *qaṣīdah* of Abū'l-'Alā, therefore, proves beyond doubt the existence of the homonymous 'Imādis, i.e. 'Imādī-i-Ghaznawī who died before 544 A.H., and 'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī who died after 571 A.H.

¹ *Dīwān-i-Sanā'ī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3302, f. 137b :

تا چند معنّای مزّی که خدایش زینجا بغل برد و بقای ملکی داد
چون تیر فلک بود فرینش سره آورد بیکان ملک برد و تیر فلکی داد

The other two quatrains are on the same folio.

² *Khulāsatul-Ash'ar wa Zubdatul-Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 237b ; *Ātashkādah*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1268, f. 185a.

³ *Dīwān-i-Mu'izzi*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 10,588, f. 140b-141a ; India Office MS. No. 912, f. 264-5b :

من بندے یگنه نشم کشته راگان	مث خدایرا که تیر خدایگان
تیری که او بقصد ینداخت از گمان	مث خدایرا که بجانم نکرد قصد

یکچند اگر زریح دلم بود دودمند	این شکر چون کنم که دگر بار بندے وار
کشتم مجلس تو ننگوی و منج خوان	شیریست کامگار و دلیریست کامران

فرماندو ملول ملک سنجر آنکه او شیریست کامگار و دلیریست کامران

The Br. Mus. MS. f. 226b-227a contains, in addition, four quatrains descriptive of the accident.

⁴ *Dīwān-i-'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 298, f. 3a :

آنکه کند کو را هیبت او اشکبار	خسرو گردون گند شاه جهان بهلوان
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